



**DELHI UNIVERSITY
LIBRARY**

DELHI UNIVERSITY LIBRARY

Cl. No. V4611F9

F9

Ac. No. 17349

Date of release for loan

9 MAR 1960

This book should be returned on or before the date last stamped below. An overdue charge of 5 Paise will be collected for each day the book is kept overtime.

THE TREASURE-HOUSE OF EASTERN
STORY UNDER THE DIRECTIONSHIP
OF
SIR E. DENISON ROSE

HITOPADESA

A Book of Holistic Council

A Translation from the original Sanskrit
by Francis Johnson: revised and in part
re-written with an introduction by
Lionel D. Barnett, M.A., Litt.D.

STORIES FROM SA'DÍ'S
BUSTÁN AND GULISTÁN

Stories from the *Bustán* of Shaykh Sa'dí
together with selections from Francis
Gladwin's translation of Sa'dí's *Gulistán*,
the former translated and the latter re-
vised by Reuben Levy, M.A., Lecturer
in Persian in the University of Cam-
bridge.

STORIES OF THE BUDDHA

Being selections from the *Jataka*, with
an introduction by Mrs. Rhys Davids,
D.Litt., M.A., Lecturer in Pali and
Buddhism, School of Oriental Studies,
London; President of the Pali Text
Society.

THE HISTORY OF
HAYY IBN YAQZAN

A

THE HISTORY OF
HAYY IBN YAQZAN

by
ABU BAKR IBN TUFAIL

Translated from the Arabic by

SIMON OCKLEY

Revised, with an Introduction by
A. S. FULTON

LONDON
CHAPMAN AND HALL LIMITED
MCMXXIX

Printed in Great Britain at
The Westminster Press, London, W.9
and bound by
A. W. Bain & Co., Ltd.

INTRODUCTION

THIS little philosophical romance, one of the most interesting works of the Middle Ages, was written in Muhammadan Spain towards the end of the twelfth century.

Since the early days of Muslim conquest, when the Arabs forced their way along North Africa and in 711 crossed into Andalusia, those regions had seen the rise and fall of many Muslim states, varying in territorial extent and not of uniform doctrinal complexion. At the period we now speak of the puritanic Berber dynasty of Almohads dominates the whole stage, and Abu Ya'qub Yusuf, claiming the proud title Commander of the Faithful, second of his line, rules from his capital, the City of Morocco, over all North Africa, from the Atlantic shore to the borders of Egypt, as well as a large tract of Southern Spain. This empire he inherited from his father, 'Abd al-Mu'min, who had conquered it in his own lifetime in a series of brilliant campaigns lasting about thirty years, and most of it had been torn from the grasp of another great Berber house, the Almoravids. Except in the Balearic Islands the power of the

I N T R O D U C T I O N

Almoravids was now extinct. Their sultans had always formally recognised the supremacy of the ruling Caliph at Baghdad. Abu Ya'qub, however, like all his house, brooked no dictation from the Eastern Caliphate—either temporal or spiritual. He was lord of the Muslim West, and the religious doctrine on which his empire rested was that laid down by his spiritual ancestor and founder of the Almohad sect, the Berber Mahdi Ibn Tumart, one of the many Mahdis or Rightly Guided Ones of Islamic history, divinely sent to fill the earth with justice, who died in 1130 (or 1128) and whose grave at Tinmal in the Atlas mountains was now a holy place.

Briefly, this reformed doctrine demanded two things: in belief, a purely spiritual conception of Allah; in conduct, a literal acceptance of Koranic teaching. In the first place every anthropomorphic element must be swept out of religion; secondly, Muhammadan law must be based on nothing but the actual statements of the Koran and the words and deeds of the Prophet Muhammad as transmitted by authentic Tradition. "Reasoning," said the Mahdi, "can have no place in the divine Law." The name of the sect was *al-Muwahhidun*, i.e. the Unitarians, or in its Spanish form, *Almohades*. Any Muslims who rejected its puritan principles were destined

I N T R O D U C T I O N

for hell-fire and must be helped thither at every opportunity by the swords of the faithful; indeed, in the eyes of the Almohads, the spiritual condition of such heretics was just as hopeless as that of the Christians, who had by this time succeeded, to the vexation of Islam, in restoring their sway over much the larger part of the Spanish peninsula. The first three centuries of Muslim rule in Spain had been distinguished on the whole by a high level of culture and religious tolerance unparalleled anywhere in contemporary Christendom. But these later invasions from Africa, first by the Almoravids and then by the Almohads, established a régime of Berber fanaticism, the brunt of which fell cruelly on the non-Muslim inhabitants and compelled many of them to flee for refuge into Northern Spain and Provence.

In view of this ruthless theology which the Caliph publicly enforced, it is somewhat of a surprise to discover that his private delight was philosophical speculation and the society of thinkers far removed from orthodoxy. But of this we have abundant evidence. In his scheme of life speculation and practical politics appear to have dwelt severely separate. It was one thing to preside, as he often did, over the discussions of the intelligentsia in Marrakush and Seville, but quite another to discharge his office as Com-

I N T R O D U C T I O N

mander of the Believers. For preserving the spiritual health of the masses and the empire's welfare, no specific, in his judgment, could equal the strict letter of the Koran and the Almohad brand of dogma. Let his faithful people therefore concentrate on their divinely appointed duties — performing their five daily prayers and the other rites of the faith, harassing at intervals "the accursed Adhfunsh," i.e. King Alphonso, whose growing power menaced the security of the Muslims in Spain, planning horrid surprises for the Christian fleet when it issued from Lisbon, taming the lawless tribes of the African desert. The "thinking man," on the other hand, belonged to a select and privileged order. Between him and the great masses lay an intellectual gulf which he must never attempt to cross, for he would only let anarchy loose by tampering with their simple faith and discipline. In the seclusion of his patron's library he was welcome to indulge his philosophic doubt, but on no account from the house-top.

This beautiful scheme of obscurantism appears to have been adopted by the Almohad sovereigns generally, and gladly accepted by the enlightened few who lived under their rule.

The dominion of the Almohads was comparatively brief. A crushing military disaster

INTRODUCTION

awaited them at the hands of the Christians at Las Navas de Tolosa in 1212, and even more destructive were the dissensions which broke out within the dynasty itself and soon completed the ruin of this empire which had sprung into being with such amazing rapidity. After a century and a half its last spark was extinguished with the fall of the City of Morocco in 1269. Its importance to civilisation in a material sense may have been negligible, but among its leading figures the Caliph Abu Ya'qub, not to mention one or two others of his line, is worthy of remembrance for his patronage of philosophy. It was by his desire and partly for his enlightenment that Ibn Rushd (Averroes), the greatest Arab thinker of Spain, composed his famous commentaries on Aristotle, which in their Latin form soon seized the intellectual world of Medieval Europe; and this curious tale of Hayy Ibn Yaqzan would probably have never seen the light had its author not been the special protégé of this same prince.

The historical records that survive tell us surprisingly little about Ibn Tufail's life. His full name was Abu Bakr Muhammad ibn 'Abd al-Malik Ibn Tufail al-Qaisi, the last word indicating that his family claimed descent from the celebrated Arabian tribe of Qais. The medieval scholars of Europe, with unusual

INTRODUCTION

accuracy in such matters, call him Abubacer. He was born at Wadi Ash, the modern Guadix, about forty miles N.E. of Granada, probably between 1100 and 1110 A.D. Although Arabic records are silent about his early life and studies, it is not unlikely that he absorbed the science and philosophy of his day at Cordova and Seville, the two intellectual headquarters of Muhammadan Spain. He is said to have practised medicine at Granada and to have been governor of that province, but precisely when in his career we are not told. In 1154, when the Caliph 'Abd al-Mu'min was distributing imperial appointments among the members of his family, the governorship of Granada, Malaga, Algeciras, Ceuta and Tangier fell to his son, the Sayyid Abu Sa'id, and Ibn Tufail joined him as secretary. From that point nothing is known of his fortunes until he appears at the Court of the Caliph Abu Ya'qub, elevated to the high offices of Wazir and chief royal physician, a combination of functions not unusual in Muhammadan states. It is doubtful whether this title of Wazir means that he was actually prime minister, but there is no question that he served as one of the Caliph's chief advisers. His position at court is best described in these words of 'Abd al-Wahid,¹

¹ *Al-Mu'jib*. Ed. Dozy, pp. 172, 174, 175. Tr. Fagnan, pp. 207-210.

I N T R O D U C T I O N

the only historian who allows us any intimate glimpses of the situation:

"Ceaselessly he [the Caliph] collected books from all parts of Andalusia and the Maghrib [i.e. North Africa west of Egypt], and so diligently sought out learned men, especially those concerned with speculative science, that he had more of them in his circle than any previous sovereign of the West. Among the versatile savants who frequented his company was the Muslim philosopher, Abu Bakr Muhammad Ibn Tufail, a master in every branch of philosophy. . . . One of his treatises on natural science is called *Hayy Ibn Yaqzan*, and is designed to explain the origin of the human species.¹ Although of small compass it is a highly instructive work. . . . He was so beloved by the Commander of the Faithful that he used to stay successive days and nights with him without leaving the palace. . . . He introduced learned men from every quarter, and directed towards them the attention, favour and praise of his sovereign. It was he who brought to his notice Abu al-Walid Ibn Rushd (Averroes), who from that moment became known and appreciated. His disciple, the lawyer and professor, Abu Bakr Bundud ibn Yahya of Cordova, told

¹ It would appear that 'Abd al-Wahid had looked only at the first few pages of the book.

I N T R O D U C T I O N

me he had often heard Abu al-Walid relate the following story: ‘ When I was presented to the Commander of the Faithful, Abu Ya‘qub, I found him alone with Ibn Tufail. The latter proceeded to recommend me to him, telling him of my house and my ancestors and generously adding words of praise which I did not merit. After some questions as to my name, my father’s name and my lineage, the Commander of the Faithful abruptly asked me: “ What is their view (meaning that of the philosophers) about the heavens; are they eternal or created in time?” Seized with confusion and fear, I tried to make an excuse and to deny that I had any dealings with philosophy, not knowing that Ibn Tufail had conspired with him to test me in this way. The Commander of the Faithful noticed my embarrassment and turning to Ibn Tufail began discussing with him the question he had put to me. He recalled what Aristotle, Plato and all the philosophers had said on the point, and stated also the arguments brought against them by the Muslims, displaying such copious knowledge as I should not have expected even from an expert. So completely did he put me at ease that I entered the discussion, and everything I said he followed intelligently. After my departure I was presented, at his command, with a gift of money, a magnificent robe of honour and a horse.’ ”

INTRODUCTION

In 1182, probably owing to his advanced age, Ibn Tufail resigned his post of royal physician and was succeeded therein by his younger philosopher-friend, Averroes, but he still retained his position as counsellor to the Caliph. Peace and prosperity now reigned in Africa, the state coffers were well filled, and the Caliph, feeling himself in a position to deal a damaging blow at the Christian power in Spain, ordered preparations for an offensive on an immense scale. His programme was to capture Santarem, the key position in Portugal; to annex the whole of that region as far as the Douro, thence to advance on Toledo and teach a lesson to the King of Castile, Alphonso VIII, whose forces for some time past had discomfited the Muslims in minor encounters. From all quarters of the Almohad empire troops were collected and formed into the most powerful Muslim army that had ever appeared on the Peninsula, and a great fleet was fitted out for a simultaneous assault on Lisbon. Nothing, however, worked out according to plan. The defenders of Santarem offered a heroic resistance until powerful Christian reinforcements arrived, part of them led by the Archbishop of Santiago de Compostella, which inflicted severe losses on the invaders. Lisbon proved impregnable to the Muhammadan fleet. No permanent conquests could be achieved, and

INTRODUCTION

the campaign transformed itself into a wild marauding expedition in the course of which all the countryside of Estremadura was swept by fire and sword. This venture proved fatal to the Caliph. According to the most reliable account he was wounded at the siege of Santarem and died on his litter a month afterwards, during the journey home to Seville, on the 28th July, 1184. His body was taken to Africa and interred in the Almohad burial-place at Tinmal, where his father, 'Abd al-Mu'min, and Ibn Tumart, the founder of the sect, had already been laid.

He was succeeded by his son, Abu Yusuf al-Mansur, an energetic ruler who inherited much of his father's zest for philosophic study and encouraged it among the cultured few, but who at the same time imposed on the general public the discipline of the state doctrine, "back to the sources of the faith," with greater severity than either of his predecessors. In Spain and Africa he had bonfires made of the leading books of Muhammadan law, on the pious pretext that they consisted largely of fallible human "reasoning" about the divine ordinances. His real object was to prevent the spread of independent thought among the lower orders; their business was not to think but to believe and obey; and as for law, they could find all they needed of that in the revealed word of God and the recorded

INTRODUCTION

practice of his Prophet. The aged Ibn Tufail continued his diplomatic duties at the court of the new Caliph, enjoying the same favour from him as from his father. By this time our philosopher must have been about eighty years of age. He died in the following year, 1185, at the capital, the City of Morocco, and was buried there with great ceremony, the Caliph himself attending his obsequies.

In addition to the affairs of state, medicine, astronomy, philosophy and poetry made up the sum of his activities; but he wrote very little, and all that now survives is a few fragments of verse and this allegory of *Hayy ibn Yaqzan*, which is probably his one and only philosophical work.

It is a tale of two islands. One is uninhabited by man, and on it a child appears, either spontaneously generated or floated thither in a box. The child is *Hayy ibn Yaqzan*, "Alive son of Awake." He is suckled by a gazelle, and on the death of this foster-mother is left, Crusoe-like, to his own resources. His innate intelligence, feeble at first, develops by degrees, until it enables him to dominate his brute companions. He reaches manhood, and by ceaseless observation and reflection gradually acquires a knowledge of the physical universe. Thence he advances into the realm of metaphysics and

INTRODUCTION

proves for himself the existence of an all-powerful Creator. Practising ascetic discipline of mind and body he seeks for union with this One Eternal Spirit. At last he comes to the state of ecstasy, and overleaping the final metaphysical barrier, his intellect merges with the Active Intellect and he apprehends those things which eye hath not seen nor ear heard. Thus at the end of seven times seven years, without prophet or revelation, he achieves the utmost fullness of knowledge and ineffable felicity in mystical union with his Lord. At this stage, while he is yet unaware of the existence of any other country or of the human race, he is amazed one day to discover, walking on his island, a creature shaped like himself.

This proves to be a holy man named Asal who has just arrived from the neighbouring island of civilisation where the good king Salaman reigns, and where life is regulated by a conventional religion of rewards and punishments. Asal has reached a higher level of self-discipline than his compatriots, and believing that asceticism and solitude will help him to realise his highest spiritual ambition, he has renounced the world and is come to end his days on this little island which he thinks is uninhabited. He teaches Hayy language and is astonished to discover that the pure Truth to

I N T R O D U C T I O N

which Hayy has attained is the same as that symbolised by the religion which he himself professes. On learning the condition of the people on the other island, Hayy is moved with compassion and determines to go to them and offer them the benefits of his knowledge. Accordingly the two worthies set out together, Asal acting as the introducer of his distinguished friend. But the mission is a dismal failure. Hayy's exposition of the Truth is far above the heads of the vast majority of his audience, who regard it with hostility as a dangerous innovation. Enchained in the fetters of the senses, their intelligence can respond only to concrete imagery and their moral nature is in most cases amenable to nothing higher than a crude system of rewards and punishments. Hayy soon sees enough to convince him that Muhammad's way with them as expressed in the Koran was the only effective method. He apologises to them for his intrusion, exhorts them to be faithful to the religion of their fathers and returns with his friend Asal to the uninhabited island.

It is a well-constructed story, comparatively free from that diffuseness which the Oriental teller of tales can rarely avoid, and from the obscurity in which Muslim philosophers often get involved through their craze for elaborate refinements. No doubt Ibn Tufail could split

INTRODUCTION

hairs with the ablest dialecticians at the Caliph's court, but in this book he endeavours to make his exposition simple and concise in the interests of the intelligent layman. (Even so, there remains quite enough metaphysical verbiage to strain the patience of many a reader.) For although in general he supports the Almohad principle of withholding the teachings of philosophy from the multitude, it is clear that he was opposed to its too rigorous application, and that he recognised an intelligent section of the masses who deserved instruction and to whom allegory was the best means of conveying it. Consequently he has left us one of the best short stories in Arabic. The natural development of its theme and the relevance and cogency of its details would be difficult to match in the literature of Islam. Further, it offers a concise survey of Arabic philosophy and of its conflict or compromise with the demands of Muhammadan theology.

The term "Arabic philosophy" means, of course, nothing indigenous to Arabia, but little more than Greek philosophy in an Arab dress. For its origin one must look back to the eighth century and to the Eastern end of the Mediterranean. The Muslim armies had by that time carried their religious creed and battle cry, "There is no god but Allah and Muhammad is

INTRODUCTION

his Apostle," far beyond the frontiers of Arabia. The centre of government had been moved from Medina to Damascus, which was now the metropolis of a vast empire stretching from the Atlantic to the Indus and from the Caspian to the Cataracts of the Nile. Having possessed themselves of half the known world, the Muslims began to look with curious eyes on the treasures of Greek philosophy and science, of which the chief custodians within their borders were the Syriac-speaking communities, Christian and pagan, of Syria and Mesopotamia. During the next two centuries, at the instigation usually of some Caliph or Wazir, a multitude of Greek scientific works, many of them pseudonymous, were translated from the Syriac into Arabic. Damascus witnessed the first feeble indications of this Oriental renaissance. But it was not until the 'Abbasid Dynasty seized the reins of government and made Baghdad the centre of the empire that Islamic culture burst into full flower. The first century of 'Abbasid rule (750-850) marks the golden age of Islam. Under the enlightened patronage of Caliphs like al-Mansur (754-775) and al-Ma'mun (813-833), the translation of Greek works into Arabic was pursued with passionate enthusiasm. But men of Arab blood had very little to do with the production of these translations or of the vast

INTRODUCTION

multitude of learned Arabic treatises based upon them which were written during the succeeding centuries. Nearly all the scientific literature in Arabic was the work of Persians, Syrians, Spaniards, Jews and other non-Arabs. "Some four or five centuries later, European seekers after knowledge, cut off from the original Greek sources, betook themselves with ever-increasing enthusiasm to this Arabian presentation of the ancient learning and rehabilitated it in a Latin dress; and for the first century after the discovery of the art of printing, the Latin renderings of Arabic philosophical, scientific and medical works constituted a considerable proportion of the output of the European press; until a revival of a direct knowledge of the Greek originals in the first place, and the inauguration of a fresh, fruitful and first-hand investigation of natural phenomena in the second, robbed them to a great extent of their prestige and their utility and changed the excessive veneration in which they had hitherto been held into an equally exaggerated contempt."¹

Most of the Greek philosophy which reached the Muslims arrived in the form in which it had been preserved in its Syriac medium. Thus Plato was received largely in the Neo-Platonic interpretation, and Aristotle as developed by the

¹ E. G. Browne, *Arabian Medicine*, pp. 2, 3

I N T R O D U C T I O N

later Peripatetic schools. Early in the ninth century a Christian of Emessa, in the Lebanon, marvellously confused the issue by producing an Arabic paraphrase of part of the Enneads of Plotinus, and calling it, probably in all innocence, *The Theology of Aristotle*. The influence of this work, which helped to give the followers of the Prophet quite a false idea of the Peripatetic system, runs through the whole of Muslim thought and is evident in this story of Hayy ibn Yaqzan.

In those early days Muslim thinkers, obsessed by Islamic dogma, naturally assumed a theological attitude towards philosophy. The sages of classical antiquity appeared to them almost as prophets, and indeed were called *imams*, just like Muhammadan religious teachers. They were regarded as infallible; but God's messenger, Muhammad, was also infallible. No inconsistency or error could be admitted on any side. Plato was truth, Aristotle was truth, and the Koran was truth. But truth must be one. Consequently much ingenuity and ink was expended in the mad attempt to harmonise the teachings of these three. The bolder spirits were not so respectful to Islamic theology, regarding it as merely a preliminary step towards the higher truth contained in the teaching of the Greeks. In the effort to solve this fantastic problem, all

INTRODUCTION

the resources of Aristotelian definition and syllogism were exhausted in vain. Its substance defied such rough chemistry, and soon we meet with the first Muslim attempts to make it yield up its essential gold, its one truth, by subjecting it to the elixir of mysticism. Mysticism of a purely ascetic and devotional character was not unknown to the Arabian desert, but as soon as it grew speculative it became strongly influenced by Neo-Platonic thought.

Chief among the labourers in this field was al-Farabi, who died in 950, the Second Teacher, as the Muslims called him, i.e. the second Aristotle. A native of Farab in Turkestan, he travelled the Eastern empire in pursuit of knowledge and finally joined the intellectual group which gathered round Prince Saif al-Daulah, in his court at Aleppo. Physics, metaphysics, medicine, mathematics, philology and music all came within his sweep. Besides commentaries on several works of Aristotle, a large number of original treatises flowed from his pen, including dissertations on the Intelligence and the Intelligible, the Soul, the Faculties of the Soul, the One, Substance, Time, Space. On the plane of discursive reason his power and subtlety are remarkable. But his Oriental love of syncretism was not to be suppressed, and displayed itself in such treatises as *The Harmony of Plato*

INTRODUCTION

and Aristotle, *The Intentions of Plato and Aristotle*, *The Intermediary between Aristotle and Galen*. His ambition was to harmonise the different Greek systems and then harmonise the result with the teachings of the Koran. Thus his celestial architecture is a blend of Aristotle's spheres and Muhammad's seven heavenly mansions. Allah and his angels, the *Tablet*, the *Pen*, the *Throne*, of the Koran, fraternise with the $\epsilon\nu$, $\psi\upsilon\chi\eta$ and $\nu\omega\nu$ s of Plotinus. He was a mystic in the real as well as the academic sense, and his method of reconciling the members of his eclectic *ménage* is by no means always clear to the uninitiated. Al-Farabi played the leading part in directing the course of Muslim philosophy, and it was from him more than from any other of the Muhammadan thinkers of the East that Ibn Tufail in Spain drew his inspiration.

Our author borrowed the names of his characters, but little more than this, from Ibn Sina (Avicenna). This celebrated philosopher and physician of Persian nationality who died in 1037, and whose medical teaching was accepted in Europe until as late as the seventeenth century, had left among his multitudinous writings an allegorical tale of a few pages entitled *Hayy ibn Yaqzan*, a mechanical and lifeless production compared with Ibn Tufail's story, and quite different from it in plan. But another influence

I N T R O D U C T I O N

nearer home is unmistakable. Ibn Tufail's elder Spanish contemporary, Ibn Bajjah, known to Europe as Avempace, was the author of a work called *Tadbir al-Mutawahhid*, i.e. *The Hermit's Régime*. Although the Arabic original is now lost, a long analysis of it preserved to us in the Hebrew of Moses of Narbonne shows that Ibn Bajjah's theme was to demonstrate how man by the unaided improvement of his faculties may attain to union with the Active Intellect. This book was well known to Ibn Tufail, and doubtless gave him the idea of his *Self-taught Philosopher*.

But the source of his ideas is of less importance than his imaginative handling of them. No other Arabic writer who has attempted this didactic form has achieved anything like the measure of Ibn Tufail's success in clothing his dissertation in the garb of romance, making concepts manifest in human creatures and reasonings in episodes. Hayy and Asal, the two main characters, are not mechanical figures with labels attached. The author has endowed them with life. Their rôle is to give some sort of realistic presentation of Soaring Intellect and Enlightened Faith, and their adventures are by no means devoid of instruction and entertainment even to a modern eye.

The title-page contains a hint of the author's

INTRODUCTION

intention. His hero's symbolical name, Hayy ibn Yaqzan, means "Alive son of Awake." Alive, because he is Intelligence, which implies life; Son of Awake, to indicate his relation to the Eternal One who exists in that super-conscious state described by Plotinus as "wakefulness" or "awareness" (*έγρήγορσις*). This conception was associated in the Muslim mind with the description of God from the celebrated "Throne Verse" of the Koran: "Allah, there is no god but he; the living, the self-subsisting; slumber taketh him not, nor sleep." The hero's career is appropriate to his name. It is the pilgrim soul's upward progress; its return home to its "Father" through a series of ascending stages. In short, one of the main objects of this modest little book is nothing less than to dramatise the process of continuous development from sense-perception up to the beatific vision of the One.

Most of the story is a description of this spiritual ascent, fashioned mainly out of Neo-Platonic and Aristotelian elements, with here and there a confirmatory passage from the Koran. But this is only part of the author's design. His central idea, implicit here, but boldly worked out at the close, is the old one of harmonising philosophy and religion, and a quaint descriptive picture of this constitutes the

I N T R O D U C T I O N

last scene. Most Muslim thinkers naturally cherished the conviction that philosophy permitted a purer vision of spiritual reality than did the religion of the Koran; but there was often danger to life or limb in expressing this too plainly. Ibn Tufail, however, having the Caliph's permission to declare himself, puts into the mouth of his saintly Crusoe some quiet criticism of Koranic theology and ethics. Thus when Hayy has heard Asal's description of that "Perspicuous Book" which God sent down to men by his messenger Muhammad, he recognises it instantly by his self-developed intellect as an expression of the Eternal Truth. But two of its features perplex him. First, what can be the point of all that sensuous language in it about God and the hereafter? A strange habit, surely, of those creatures on the island of civilisation to regard the Almighty as seated on a throne and the future world as an immense beer-garden and torture-chamber. But our noble savage, being a philosopher, uses a more chaste periphrasis. He wonders "Why this Messenger of God, in describing most things which relate to the Divine World, us'd to express them to Men by Parables or Similitudes, and wai'v'd a clearer Revelation of them; which occasion'd Men to fall into that grave Error of asserting a Corporeity in God, and attributing to the

INTRODUCTION

Essence of that True One Things from which it is absolutely free; and so in like manner, concerning those things which relate to the Rewards and Punishments of a Future State." On this question he is strongly on the side of the angels, i.e. of the Almohad state religion, to which, as we have seen, anthropomorphic notions were anathema. Secondly, why is this Book of God so much concerned with legislation on mundane matters; buying, selling, inheritance, marriage, and so forth? Before the soul can start on its journey heavenward, is not its most imperative need to free itself of these loads and chains of earthly passion?

Evidently the Koran presented many stumbling blocks to an enlightened spirit like Ibn Tufail. If only the Prophet, five centuries before, had been inspired to preach Plato to the Arabian tribesmen instead of a mixture mainly of garbled Jewish and Christian theology, and if only his Bedouin hearers could have inwardly digested it as easily as this solitary and uncontaminated islander, all would have been right with our philosopher's medieval world. Here, as we might expect, is the source of most of the trouble between Islamic philosophy and dogma. The holy water of Zemzem had too much "body" in it to please the palates of these Muslim philosophers who had drunk deep at

I N T R O D U C T I O N

the more sublimated springs of pagan thought. Those anthropomorphic crudities of the Koran, however keenly they may have been relished in the desert, caused not a little embarrassment to later and more sophisticated ages. Yet the orthodox refused to abate one jot of their belief in verbal inspiration. This Book contained the mightiest miracle of truth and eloquence the world had ever heard or ever would hear, and the illiteracy of the Prophet who delivered it was proudly emphasised by the devout as an enhancement of the miracle. The Arabic language in which it was revealed was God's language, and the grammarians were at liberty to quote the Divine Being as the supreme authority on Arabic syntax.

Concerning the life hereafter, God had spoken in his Koran with no uncertain voice; for example: "The description of paradise, which is promised unto the pious: therein are rivers of incorruptible water; and rivers of milk, the taste whereof changeth not; and rivers of wine, pleasant unto those who drink; and rivers of clarified honey; and therein shall they have plenty of all kinds of fruits; and pardon from their Lord. Shall the man for whom these things are prepared be as they who must dwell for ever in hell-fire, and will have the boiling water given them to drink, which shall burst

INTRODUCTION

their bowels?"¹ and again: "They shall dwell in gardens of delight . . . reposing on couches adorned with gold and precious stones; sitting opposite to one another thereon. Youths, which shall continue in their bloom for ever, shall go round about to attend them, with goblets and beakers and a cup of flowing wine: their heads shall not ache by drinking the same, neither shall their reason be disturbed: and with fruits of the sorts which they shall choose, and the flesh of birds of the kind which they shall desire. And there shall accompany them fair damsels having large black eyes; resembling pearls hidden in their shells: as a reward for that which they shall have wrought. They shall not hear therein any vain discourse, or any charge of sin; but only the salutation, Peace! Peace!"² Likewise he had sought to deter the Arabs from unbelief by promises of hell such as this: "And they who believe not shall have garments of fire fitted unto them: boiling water shall be poured on their heads; their bowels shall be dissolved thereby, and also their skins; and they shall be beaten with maces of iron."³ Greed was to have the following appropriate reward: "But unto those who treasure up gold and silver, and employ it not for the advancement of God's true

¹ Koran, XLVII, 16, 17. ² Koran, LVI, 12-25. ³ Koran, XXII, 20, 21. (Sale's translation.)

I N T R O D U C T I O N

religion, denounce a grievous punishment. On the day of judgment their treasures shall be intensely heated in the fire of hell, and their foreheads and their sides and their backs shall be stigmatized therewith; and their tormentors shall say, This is what ye have treasured up for yourselves; taste therefore that which ye have treasured up.”¹

The philosophic mind recoiled from such hearty outbursts. They could only be accepted, if at all, as *images* of the spiritual rewards and punishments awaiting the soul hereafter. But Ibn Tufail was a stickler for pure concepts and had little patience even with images. Indeed he is constrained to end his tale with an apology to his initiated friends for having stooped to the use of allegory. Ibn al-'Arabi of Murcia, perhaps the greatest of the Muhammadan mystics, who was born about sixty years after Ibn Tufail, offers the following intelligent explanation of the Koran's lurid eschatology: “Allah,” he says, “has depicted paradise in accordance with the different degrees of man's understanding. The Messiah (on whom be peace) emphasised its spiritual joys, to which we have referred above, and concluded his last instructions to his disciples with these words: ‘If ye do that which I command you, to-morrow ye shall be with me

¹ Koran, ix, 34, 35. (Sale's translation.)

INTRODUCTION

in the kingdom of heaven in the presence of him who is my Lord and your Lord. Ye shall behold around his throne the angels praising and glorifying him. And there ye shall enjoy all manner of delights without partaking either of food or drink.' If the Messiah was explicit on this matter and used none of the figurative language which our Book uses, this was because he was addressing a people already civilised by the Torah and by reading the books of the prophets, so that their minds were prepared to receive his words. Not so with our prophet Muhammad. His divine mission lay among an uncultured people inhabiting deserts and mountains; who lacked the discipline of learning and believed neither in the resurrection nor the future life; to whom even the pleasures of the princes of this world were unknown, let alone those of the kings in heaven. Accordingly in his Book most of the descriptions of paradise relate to the body, that so they might the better incline the people's understanding and fill their souls with desire."¹

The hero of our tale is imbued with the missionary spirit and is determined to let mankind hear his higher truth. But the event shows that most men have no desire to hear it, and are really much happier without it, the simple letter

¹ Al-Sha'rani, *Al-Yawaqit* (1888), II, 216. Quoted by Asin, *Islam and the Divine Comedy*, p. 139.

I N T R O D U C T I O N

of the law being quite difficult enough for their apprehension and usually too difficult for their performance, without their attempting any mystic interpretation. Hayy has not been long on the island of civilisation till he discovers that free and knowing spirits like himself are quite the exception there. Indeed he hardly realised how free and knowing he himself was till he collided with human society, which he finds to his horror falls roughly into two classes, the invincibly ignorant and brutish, and the complacent adherents of an institutional and mechanical religion. To appeal to the first was hopeless, and he did not try. His attempt on the second only awoke misgiving and anger in their hearts. They would have none of his new theology. With an audacity clothed in humble piety was he not presuming to out-prophet the Prophet of God? Fortunately for Hayy, their Oriental sense of hospitality seems to have checked their herd instinct for heresy hunting, besides which their king, Salaman, was on his side (in whom we may easily recognise the Caliph Abu Ya'qub, friend of philosophers, the enlightened patron of our author Ibn Tufail and of Averroes) so that he was secure from the bitter fate of most religious reformers.

But within the pale of this conventional religion is a small minority of souls with some

I N T R O D U C T I O N

spiritual discernment of the realities embodied in the creeds, rites and ceremonies of the faith. To speed their nearer approach to God they strip themselves of earthly possessions and pursue their quest in solitude. Theirs is a different path from the philosopher's, but their goal is the same—to be absorbed in the Divine Essence. Asal is the personification of this Sufi elect. His vision, although more obscured than Hayy's by reason of the sensuous veil of Koranic symbolism, is equally incomunicable to the multitude. As for the average man's religion, these two Gnostic aristocrats see it from their exalted planes as a regrettable but necessary vulgarisation of the Truth. Allah the Merciful, the Compassionate, will rescue the less fortunate mass of his creatures who are constitutionally unable to attain this purer illumination, provided they walk faithfully in the light they possess. Hayy's belief in the unity of soul-life receives a rude shock when he is confronted with humanity in the flesh. His missionary fervour cools when he realises that "the whole lump" is not to be leavened by exhortation, even though he testify with the tongues of men and angels to the glories of his spiritual experience, and he easily finds a divine sanction for his retreat from this distressing piece of reality. An understanding of all mysteries and all knowledge, suffused with an

INTRODUCTION

academic philanthropy, was evidently not equipment enough to help him far on his stupendous enterprise.

And so these two ineffectual angels depart to the island whence they came, there to live in harmony ever afterwards, engrossed in achieving their own spiritual perfection. The reconciliation of theology and philosophy is again brought about by the extension of both into the world of mysticism. This higher harmony is pictured as a human partnership; but Hayy the philosopher, we are delicately reminded, remains ever the predominant partner, for, after all, the mystical island was his discovery; and the regenerate theologian who dwells there as a dearly beloved colleague may almost but never quite rise to the spiritual eminence of his friend.¹ Such is our gentle heretic's soft answer to the dictum that philosophy is the handmaid of theology; whether it would suffice in his day to turn away the wrath of orthodox Islam is another question.

¹ Ibn al-'Arabi of Murcia (1165-1240), in his voluminous mystical work entitled *Al-Furuhat al-Makkiyya* or the *Revelations of Mecca*, introduces an allegory describing the ascent to heaven of a theologian accompanied by a rationalist philosopher. But in this case the theologian far outstrips the philosopher, who finds himself obliged to embrace the Muslim faith before he is permitted to join his companion on the highest plane of mystical contemplation. A summary of the allegory is given by Asin, *Islam and the Divine Comedy*, pp. 47-51.

I N T R O D U C T I O N

Ibn Tufail's popularity outside the Muham-madan world, particularly in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, may be judged from the following list of the texts, translations and adaptations of his story which have appeared in Europe.

The Arabic text was first published, together with a scrupulously literal Latin translation, under the title *Philosophus Autodidactus*, by Edward Pocock junior (son of the great English pioneer in Oriental studies), at Oxford, in 1671, and reprinted there in 1700. Pocock's Latin was rendered anonymously into Dutch in 1672, a second edition appearing in 1701, in which the translator's name figures as "S.D.B." George Keith, the Quaker, in 1674 (for propaganda purposes), and George Ashwell, in 1686, published English translations, each of them from Pocock's Latin. In 1708 Simon Ockley's version, made direct from the Arabic, was published in London, reprinted there in 1711, and again in Dublin in 1731. (From 1711 till his death in 1720 Ockley was Professor of Arabic at Cambridge.) Two German versions were produced in the eighteenth century, one made from Pocock's Latin by J. Georg Pritius in 1726, and the other, an accurate rendering of the original Arabic by J. G. Eichhorn, in 1783. An anonymous Crusoe story was printed in London in 1761, entitled *The Life and Sur-*

INTRODUCTION

prising Adventures of Don Antonio de Trezzanio, much of which is either "conveyed" or paraphrased from Ockley's version of *Hayy ibn Yaqzan. The Awakening of the Soul* (Wisdom of the East Series, London, 1904), by Paul Brönnle, is a translation from the Arabic of "the most interesting parts" of the romance. A translation in Spanish of the complete story, more exact than any of its predecessors, was published by F. Pons Boigues at Saragossa in 1900, with an introduction by M. Menéndez y Pelayo. But by far the most important advance since the days of Pocock was made by Prof. Léon Gauthier, whose excellent critical edition of the text accompanied by a careful French rendering appeared in 1900 at Algiers.

Pocock's Latin version has all the merits and defects of a slavish adherence to the letter of the Arabic. Ockley's tendency is very much to the other extreme. His keen relish of the spirit of the original and his aversion from pedantry reveal themselves repeatedly in renderings of singular neatness. On the other hand he often takes liberties with his original which are quite unwarranted. In the present edition an attempt has been made to correct such lapses, without offering any unnecessary violence to Ockley's work. A number of emendations have been made at the dictation of Gauthier's Arabic text,

INTRODUCTION

which is our best authority and much superior to the text upon which Ockley depended.

Ibn Tufail wrote a short introduction to his *romance*, in which he discusses briefly some of the views held by the leading Muslim exponents of mystic philosophy before his time, namely, al-Farabi, Avicenna, al-Ghazali and Averpace. This is omitted from Ashwell's translation and from the 1731 edition of Ockley's version. We also have omitted it since it contains nothing of general interest.

In Ockley's first edition (1708) the bookseller commends the work to the reader in these words, which it may not be inappropriate to repeat:

And tho' we do not pretend to any Discoveries in this Book, especially at this time of Day, when all parts of Learning are cultivated with so much Exactness; yet we hope that it will not be altogether unacceptable to the curious Reader, to know what the state of Learning was among the Arabs, five hundred Years since. And if what we shall here communicate, shall seem little in respect of the Discoveries of this discerning Age; yet we are confident that any European who shall compare the Learning in this book, with what was publish'd by any of his own Countrymen at that time, will find himself oblig'd in Conscience to give our Author fair Quarter.

THE
HISTORY
OF
HAYY IBN YAQZAN

§ I

OUR virtuous Ancestors (may God be gracious to them!) tell us, that there is an Indian Island, situate under the Equinoctial, where Men come into the world spontaneously without the help of Father and Mother. For this Island enjoys the most equable and perfect Temperature of all Places on the Earth, because it receives its Light from the highest possible Point in the Heavens; tho' it must be confessed that such an Assertion is contrary to the Opinion of the Majority of Philosophers and the most celebrated Physicians, who affirm that the fourth Clime has the most equable Temperature of all inhabited Regions. Now if they say this because they are convinced that there are no inhabited Regions under the Equinoctial, by reason of some terrestrial Impediment, their Assertion

THE HISTORY OF

that the fourth Clime is the most equable of all Places on the Rest of the Earth would have some Appearance of Reason. But if their reason be, because of the intense Heat of those Lands situate under the Equinoctial (which is that which most of 'em assign) 'tis absolutely false, and the contrary is prov'd by undeniable demonstration. For 'tis demonstrated in Natural Philosophy, that there is no other cause of Heat than Motion, or else the Contact of hot Bodies, or Light. 'Tis also prov'd that the Sun, in it self, is not hot, nor partakes of any Quality of Temperature: 'tis prov'd moreover, that the opaque and polished Bodies receive Light in the greatest degree of perfection; and next to them, the opaque which are not polished, and those which are entirely without opacity receive no Light at all. (This was first demonstrated by Avicenna, never mention'd before by any of the Ancients.) From these Premises, this Consequence will necessarily follow, *viz.* That the Sun do's not communicate his Heat to the Earth, after the same manner as hot Bodies heat those other Bodies which are near them; because the Sun is not hot in it self. Nor can it be said that the Earth is heated by Motion, because it stands still, and remains in the same posture, both when the Sun shines upon it, and when it does not, and yet 'tis evident to Sense that there is a

vast difference in it, in respect of Heat and Cold, at those several times. Nor does the Sun first heat the Air, and so the Earth; because we may observe in hot weather, that the Air which is nearest the Earth is hotter by much than that which is higher and more remote. It remains therefore that the Sun has no other way of heating the Earth but by its Light, for Heat always follows Light, so that when its Beams are collected, as in Burning-Glasses for instance, it fires all before it. Now 'tis established in the exact Sciences by precise demonstration, that the Sun is a Spherical Body, and so is the Earth; and that the Sun is much greater than the Earth; and that part of the Earth which is at all times illuminated by the Sun is above half of it; and that in that half which is illuminated, the Light is most intense in the midst, both because that part is the most remote from Darkness, as also, because it offers a greater surface to the Sun; and that those parts which are nearer the Circumference of the Circle, have less Light; and so gradually, till the Circumference of the Circle, which encompasses the illuminated part of the Earth, ends in Darkness.

THE HISTORY OF

§ 2

Now that is the Center of the Circle of Light, where the Sun is Vertical to the Inhabitants, and then in that place the Heat is most extreamly intense; and so those Countries are the coldest, where the Sun is farthest from being Vertical. And if there were any such place where the Sun was always Vertical, it must needs be extream hot. Now 'tis demonstrated in Astronomy, that the Sun is Vertical twice a Year only, to those which live under the Equinoctial, *viz.* when he enters into *Aries* and *Libra*; and all the rest of the Year he declines from them, six months Northward, and six months Southward; and for that reason they are neither too hot nor too cold, but of a Moderate Temper between both. There's much more to be said about this Argument, in order to the explaining it fully, but it is not suitable to our purpose; I have only hinted it to you, because it makes it something more probable that a Man might in that region be form'd without the help of Father and Mother; and there are some which affirm positively that Hayy Ibn Yaqzân was so, others deny it, and tell the Story thus:

§ 3

They say, that there lay, not far from this our Island, another Great Island very fertile and well peopled; which was then govern'd by a Prince of a Proud and Jealous Disposition: he had a Sister of exquisite Beauty, which he confin'd and restrain'd from Marriage, because he could not match her to one suitable to her quality. He had a near relation whose name was Yaqzân, that married her privately, according to a Rite of Matrimony then in use among them: it was not long before she prov'd with child, and was brought to Bed of a Son; and being afraid that it should be discovered, she took him in the Evening, and when she had suckled him she put him into a little Ark which she closed up fast, and so conveys him to the Sea shore, with some of her Servants and Friends as she could trust; and there with an Heart equally affected with Love and Fear, she takes her last leave of him in these Words: "O God, thou form'dst this "Child out of nothing,¹ and didst cherish him in "the dark Recesses of my Womb, till he was "compleat in all his parts; I, fearing the Cruelty "of this proud and unjust King, commit him to "thy Goodness, hoping that thou who art in- "finitely merciful, will be pleas'd to protect him, "and never leave him destitute of thy Care."

¹ Koran lxxvi, 1.

§ 4

Then she set him afloat, and that very Night the strong Tide carried him ashore on that Island we just now mention'd. It fortun'd that the Water, being high, carried the Ark a great way on shore, farther than it would have done at another time (for it rises so high but once a Year) and cast the Ark into a Grove, thick set with Trees, a pleasant place, shielded from Wind and Rain and veiled from the Sun, which could not penetrate there neither when it rose nor when it set.¹ When the Tide ebb'd, the Ark was left there, and the Wind rising blew an heap of Sand together between the Ark and the Sea, sufficient to secure him from any future danger of such another Flood.

§ 5

The Nails and Timbers of the Ark had been loosen'd when the Waves cast it into that Thicket; the Child being very hungry wept and cry'd for help and struggled. It happened that a Roe which had lost her Fawn, heard the Child cry, and following the Voice (imagining it to have been her Fawn) came up to the Ark, and what with her digging with her Hoofs from without, and the Child's thrusting from within,

¹ Cf. Koran xviii, 16.

at last between 'em both they burst open a Board of the Lid. Thereupon she was mov'd with Pity and Affection for him, and freely gave him suck; and she visited and tended him continually, protecting him from all Harm. This is the account which they give of his Origin, who are not willing to believe that a Man can be produced without Father or Mother. We shall tell 'anon how he grew up and rose from one State to another, till at last he attain'd the State of highest Perfection.

§ 6

On the other hand, those who affirm that Hayy Ibn Yaqzān was produced without Father and Mother, tell us, that in that Island, in a piece of low Ground, it chanc'd that a certain Mass of Earth was so fermented in some period of Years, that the *Hot* was so equally mix'd with the *Cold*, and the *Moist* with the *Dry*, that none of 'em prevail'd over the other; and that this Mass was of a very great Bulk, in which, some parts were better and more equally Temper'd than others, and fitter to form the seminal Humours; the middle part especially, which came nearest to the Temper of Man's Body. This Matter being in a fermentation, there arose some Bubbles by reason of its viscousness, and

THE HISTORY OF

it chanc'd that in the midst of it there was formed a very little Bubble, which was divided into two with a thin partition, full of Spirituous and Aerial Substance, and of the most exact Temperature imaginable. The matter being thus dispos'd, there was, by the Command of God, a Spirit infus'd into it, which was join'd so closely to it, that it can scarce be separated from it even so much as in thought. For this Spirit emanates continually and abundantly from the Most High and Glorious God, and may be compared to the Light of the Sun which is sent forth continually and abundantly over the World. Now there are some Bodies from whence we perceive no Reflection of this Light, as the thin Air: others from which we do but imperfectly; such are opaque Bodies which are not polished (but there is a difference in these, and the difference of their Colours arises from the different manner of their Reception of the Light); and others reflect the Light in the highest degree, as Bodies which are smooth and polish'd, such as Looking-Glasses and the like; so that those Glasses when hollowed out after a particular manner will Collect so much Light as to produce Fire. So that Spirit which comes by the Command of God, do's at all times act upon all Creatures, in some of which notwithstanding, there appears no Impression of it, but the reason of that is

because of their Incapacity into whom it is infus'd; of which kind are things inanimate which are fitly represented in this similitude by the thin Air. There is another sort again, in which there does appear something of it, as Vegetables and the like, which are represented by the opaque Bodies we mention'd, which are not polish'd. And then lastly, there are others, (represented by those polished Bodies in our comparison) in which the Influence of this Spirit is very visible, and such we reckon all sorts of Animals. Now, among those polish'd Bodies, some besides having the eminent Faculty of receiving the Sun's Light, give an Image resembling the Sun; so also among the Animals, some not only have the eminent Faculty of receiving the Spirit, but resemble it and are formed in its Image. Such is Man particularly, and to him did the Prophet allude when he said, *God created Adam in his own Image.*

§ 7

Now, when this Image in Man prevails to such a degree that all others are nothing before it, but it remains alone, so as to consume, with the glory of its Light, whatsoever stands in its way; then it is properly compared to those Glasses, which reflect Light upon themselves,

THE HISTORY OF

and burn every thing else; but this is a degree which is peculiar to the Prophets (the Blessing of God be upon them!).

§ 8

But to return, and finish the Account of those who describe this kind of generation: They tell us, that as soon as this Spirit was join'd to the Receptacle, all the other Faculties immediately, by the Command of God, submitted themselves to it. Now, opposite to this Receptacle, there arose another Bubble divided into three Ventricles by thin Membranes, with passages from one to the other, which were fill'd with an aerial substance, not much unlike that which was in the first Receptacle, only something finer than the first; and in each of these three Ventricles, which were all taken out of one, were plac'd some of those Faculties, which were subject to this governing Spirit, and were appointed to take care of their respective Stations, and to communicate every thing, both great and small, to that Spirit, which we told you before was plac'd in the first Receptacle. Right against this first Receptacle, and opposite to the second, there arose another third Bubble, fill'd with an aerial substance, which was grosser than that which was in the other two; this Receptacle was made for the

Entertainment of some other of the inferior Faculties.

§ 9

Thus these three Receptacles were made in the same order which we have describ'd, and these were the first part of that great Mass which was form'd. Now they stood in need of one another's assistance; the first wanted the other two as Servants, and they again the assistance and guidance of the first, as their Master and Director; but both these Receptacles (the former of which had more Authority than the latter), tho' inferior to the first, were nevertheless superior to all those Organs which were form'd afterwards. The first Receptacle of all, by the power of that Spirit which was joyn'd to it and its continual flaming Heat, was form'd into a Conical figure, like that of Fire, and by this means that thick Body, which was about it, became of the same figure, being solid Flesh cover'd with a thick protecting Membrane. The whole of this Organ is what we call the Heart. Now considering the great Destruction and Dissolution of Humours, which must needs be where there is so much Heat, 'twas absolutely necessary, that there should be some part form'd, whose Office it should be continually to supply this defect; otherwise it would have

THE HISTORY OF

been impossible to have subsisted long. 'Twas also necessary that this forming Spirit should have a Sense both of what was convenient for him, and what was hurtful, and accordingly attract the one and repel the other. For these Services there were two parts form'd, with their respective Faculties, *viz.* the Brain and the Liver: the first of these presided over all things relating to Sense, the latter over such things as belong'd to Nutrition: both of these depended upon the Heart for a supply of Heat, and the recruiting of their proper Faculties. To supply these divers needs, there were Ducts and Passages interwoven, some bigger, some lesser, according as necessity requir'd; and these are the Arteries and Veins.

Thus much for a Taste; they that tell the Story go on farther, and give you a particular account of the Formation of all the parts, as the Physicians do of the Formation of the Foetus in the Womb, omitting nothing till he was compleatly form'd, and just like an Embryo ready for the Birth. In this account they are forc'd to be beholding to this vast Mass of fermented Earth, which you are to suppose contain'd in it all manner of materials proper for the making Man's Body, those Skins which cover it &c.; till at last, when he was Compleat in all his parts, as if the Mass had been in labour, those

Coverings, which he was wrapp'd up in, burst asunder, and the rest of the Dirt dry'd and crack'd in pieces. The Infant being thus brought into the World, and finding his Nourishment fail him, cry'd for want of Victuals, till the Roe which had lost her Fawn heard him. Now, both those who are of the other Opinion and those who are for this kind of generation, agree in all the other particulars of his Education: and what they tell us is this.

§ 10

They say that this Roe liv'd in good and abundant Pasture so that she was fat, and had such plenty of Milk, that she was very well able to maintain the little Child; she stay'd by him and never left him, but when hunger forc'd her; and he grew so well acquainted with her, that if at any time she staid away from him a little longer than ordinary, he'd cry pitifully, and she, as soon as she heard him, came running instantly; besides all this, he enjoy'd this happiness, that there was no Beast of prey in the whole Island.

§ 11

Thus he went on, living only upon what he Suck'd till he was Two Years Old, and then he began to step a little and Breed his Teeth. He

THE HISTORY OF

always followed the Roe, and she shew'd all the tenderness to him imaginable; and us'd to carry him to places where Fruit Trees grew, and fed him with the Ripest and Sweetest Fruits which fell from the Trees; and if they had hard Shells, she us'd to break them for him with her Teeth; still Suckling him, as often as he pleas'd, and when he was thirsty she shew'd him the way to the water. If the Sun shin'd too hot, she shaded him; if he was cold she cherish'd him and kept him warm; and when Night came she brought him home to his old Place, and covered him partly with her own Body, and partly with some Feathers taken from the Ark, which had been put in with him when he was first expos'd. Now, when they went out in the Morning, and when they came home again at Night, there always went with them an Herd of Deer, which lay in the same place where they did; so that the Boy being always amongst them learn'd their voice by degrees, and imitated it so exactly that there was scarce any sensible difference; nay, when he heard the voice of any Bird or Beast, he'd come very near it. But of all the voices which he imitated, he made most use of the Deers, and could express himself as they do, either when they want help, call their Mates, when they would have them come nearer, or go farther off. (For you must know that the Brute Beasts have

different Sounds to express these different things.) Thus he contracted such an Acquaintance with the Wild Beasts, that they were not afraid of him, nor he of them.

§ 12

By this time he began to have the Ideas of a great many things fix'd in his mind, so as to have a desire to some, and an aversion to others, even when they were absent. In the mean while he consider'd all the several sorts of Animals, and saw that they were all clothed either with Hair, Wool, or Feathers; he consider'd their great Swiftness and Strength, and that they were all arm'd with Weapons defensive, as Horns, Teeth, Hoofs, Spurs, and Nails; but that he himself was Naked and Defenceless, Slow and Weak, in respect of them. For whenever there happened any Controversy about gathering of Fruits, he always came off by the worst, for they could both keep their own, and take away his, and he could neither beat them off nor run away from them.

§ 13

He observ'd besides that his Fellow-Fawns, tho' their Fore-heads were smooth at first, yet afterwards had Horns bud out, and tho' they

THE HISTORY OF

were feeble at first, yet afterwards grew very Vigorous and Swift. All these things he perceived in them, which were not in himself; and when he had consider'd the Matter, he could not imagine what should be the reason of this Difference. Then he consider'd such Animals as had any Defect or Natural Imperfection, but amongst them all he could find none like himself. He took Notice that the Passages of the Excrements were protected in all other Creatures besides himself: that by which they voided their grosser Excrements, with a Tail; and that which serv'd for the voiding of their Urine, with Hair or some such like thing. Besides, he observ'd that their Genital organs were more concealed than his own were.

§ 14

All these things were matter of great Grief to him, and when he had perplex'd himself very much with the thoughts of them, and was now near seven Years Old, he despair'd utterly of having those things grow upon him, the want of which made him so uneasy. He therefore got him some Broad Leaves of Trees, of which he made two Coverings, one to wear behind, the other before; and made a Girdle of Palm-Leaves and Rushes, to Hang his coverings upon, and

Ty'd it about his waist. But alas it would not last long, for the Leaves wither'd and dropt away; so that he was forc'd to get more, which he plaited in Layers one upon another, which made it a little more durable, but not much. Then having broke Branches from a Tree and fitted the Ends of them to his Mind, he stript off the Twigs and made them smooth; with these he began to attack the Wild Beasts, assaulting the weaker, and defending himself against the stronger. By this means he began a little to know his own Powers, and perceiv'd that his Hands were better than their Fore-Feet; because by the help of them, he had provided wherewithal to cover his Nakedness, and also gotten him a Defensive Weapon, so that now he had no need of a Tail, nor of those Natural Weapons which he had so wish'd for at first.

§ 15

Meanwhile he was growing up and had pass'd his Seventh Year, and because the repairing of his Covering of Leaves so often, was very troublesome to him, he had a design of taking the Tail of some Dead Beast, and wearing it himself; but when he perceiv'd that all Beasts did constantly avoid those which were Dead of the same kind, it made him doubt whether it

THE HISTORY OF

might be safe or not. At last, by chance he found a Dead Eagle, and observing that none of the Beasts shew'd any aversion to that Carcass, he concluded that this would suit his purpose: and in the first place, he cuts off the Wings and the Tail whole, and spreads the Feathers open; then he drew off the Skin, and divided it into two equal parts, one of which he wore upon his Back, with the other he covered his Navel and Secrets: the Tail he wore behind, and the wings were fix'd upon each Arm. This Dress of his answer'd several Ends; for in the first place it cover'd his Nakedness, and kept him warm, and then it made him so frightful to the Beasts, that none of them car'd to meddle with him, or come near him; only the Roe his Nurse, which never left him, nor he, her; and when she grew Old and Feeble, he us'd to lead her where there was the best Pasture, and pluck the sweetest Fruits for her, and give her them to eat.

§ 16

Notwithstanding this she grew lean and weak, and continu'd a while in a languishing Condition, till at last she Dyed, and then all her Motions and Actions ceas'd. When the Boy perceiv'd her in this Condition, he was ready to dye for Grief. He call'd her with the same voice which she

us'd to answer to, and made what Noise he could, but there was no Motion, no Alteration. Then he began to peep into her Ears and Eyes, but could perceive no visible defect in either; in like manner he examin'd all the parts of her Body, and found nothing amiss, but every thing as it should be. He had a vehement desire to find that part where the defect was, that he might remove it, and she return to her former State. But he was altogether at a loss how to compass his design, nor could he possibly bring it about.

§ 17

That which put him upon this search, was what he had observ'd in himself. He had noticed that when he shut his Eyes, or held any thing before them, he could see nothing at all, till that Obstacle was removed; and so when he put his Fingers into his Ears, that he could not hear, till he took 'em out again; and when he closed his Nostrils together, he smelt nothing till they were open'd; from whence he concluded that all his perceptive and active Faculties were liable to Impediments, upon the removal of which, their Operations return'd to their former course. Therefore, when he had examin'd every External Part of her, and found no visible defect, and yet at the same time perceiv'd an Universal

THE HISTORY OF

Cessation of Motion in the whole Body, not peculiar to one Member but common to them all, he began to imagine that the hurt was in some Organ which was remote from the sight and hidden in the inward part of the Body; and that this Organ was of such nature and use, that without its help, none of the other External Organs could exercise their proper Functions; and that if this Organ suffer any hurt, the damage was General, and a Cessation of the whole ensu'd.

§ 18

This made him very desirous to find that Organ if possible, that he might remove the defect from it, that so it might be as it us'd to be, and the whole Body might enjoy the Benefit of it, and the Functions return to their former course. He had before observ'd, in the Bodies of Wild Beasts and other Animals, that all their Members were solid, and that there were only three Cavities, *viz.* the Skull, the Breast, and the Belly; he imagin'd therefore that this Organ which he wanted must needs be in one of these Cavities, and above all, he had a strong persuasion that it was in the middlemost of them. For he verily believ'd that all the Members stood in need of this Organ, and that from thence it must necessarily follow that the Seat of it

must be in the Centre. And when he reflected upon his own Body, he felt the presence of such an Organ in his Breast. Now since he was able to hinder the action of all his other Organs, such as Hands, Feet, Ears, Nose and Eyes, and deprive himself of it, he conceived that it might be possible to subsist without them; but when he considered this Organ within his Breast he could not conceive the possibility of subsisting without it, so much as the twinkling of an eye. And upon this account, whenever he fought with any Wild Beast, he always took particular care to protect his Breast from being pierced by its Horns, because of the Apprehension which he had of that Organ which was contain'd in it.

§ 19

Having, by this way of reasoning, assur'd himself that the disaffected Organ lay in the Breast; he was resolv'd to make a search in order to examine it, that whatsoever the Impediment was, he might remove it if possible; but then again, he was afraid on the other side, lest his Undertaking should be worse than the Disease, and prove prejudicial. He began to consider next, whether or no he had ever remember'd any wild Beasts or other Animals which he had seen in that condition, recover

THE HISTORY OF

again, and return to the same State which they were in before, but he could call to Mind no such Instance; from whence he concluded that if she was let alone there would be no hopes at all, but if he should be so fortunate as to find that Organ and remove the Impediment, there might be some hope. Upon this he resolv'd to open her Breast and make enquiry; in order to which he provided himself with Fragments of Flint, and Splinters of dry Cane almost like Knives, with which he made an incision between the Ribs, and cutting through the Flesh, came to the *Diaphragma*; which he finding very Tough, assur'd himself that such a Covering must needs belong to that Organ which he lookt for, and that if he could once get through that, he should find it. He met with some difficulty in his Work, because his Instruments were none of the best, for he had none but such as were made either of Flint or Cane.

§ 20

However, he sharpen'd 'em again and renewed his Attempt with all the Skill he was Master of. At last he broke through, and the first part he met with was the Lungs, which he at first sight mistook for that which he search'd for, and turn'd 'em about this way and that way

to see if he could find in them the seat of the Disease. He first happen'd upon that Lobe which lay next the side which he had open'd and when he perceiv'd that it did lean sideways, he was satisfy'd that it was not the Organ he look'd for, because he was fully perswaded that that must needs be in the midst of the Body, as well in regard of Latitude as Longitude. He proceeded in his search, till at last he found the Heart, which when he saw closed with a very strong Cover, and fasten'd with stout Ligaments, and cover'd by the Lungs on that side which he had open'd, he began to say to himself: "If this Organ be so on the other side as it
" is on this which I have open'd, then 'tis cer-
" tainly in the midst, and without doubt the
" same I look for; especially considering the
" Conveniency of the Situation, the Comlinness
" and Regularity of its Figure, the Firmness of
" the Flesh, and besides, its being guarded with
" such a Membrane as I have not observ'd in
" any other part." Upon this he searches the other side, and finding the same Membrane on the inside of the Ribs, and the Lungs in the same posture which he had observ'd on that side which he had open'd first, he concluded this Organ to be the part which he look'd for.

§ 21

Therefore he first Attacks the *Pericardium*, which, after a long tryal and a great deal of pains, he made shift to tear; and when he had laid the Heart bare, and perceiv'd that it was solid on every side, he began to examine it, to see if he could find any apparent hurt in it; but finding none, he squeez'd it with his Hand, and perceiv'd that it was hollow. He began then to think that what he look'd for might possibly be contain'd in that Cavity. When he came to open it, he found in it two Cavities, one on the right side, the other on the left. That on the right side was full of clotted Blood, that on the left quite empty. " Then (says he) without all doubt, one " of those two Cavities must needs be the Re- " ceptacle of what I look for; as for that on this " right side there's nothing in it but congealed " Blood, which was not so, be sure, till the whole " Body was in that condition in which it now is " (for he had observ'd that all Blood congeals when it flows from the Body). " This Blood " does not differ in the least from any other; and " I find it common to all the Organs. What I " look for cannot by any means be such a " matter as this; for that which I seek is some- " thing which is peculiar to this place, which I " find I could not subsist without, so much as

“ the Twinkling of an Eye. And this is that
“ which I look'd for at first. As for this Blood,
“ how often have I lost a great deal of it in my
“ Skirmishes with the Wild Beasts, and yet it
“ never did me any considerable harm, nor
“ render'd me incapable of performing any
“ Action of Life, and therefore what I look for
“ is not in this Cavity. Now as for the Cavity
“ on the left side, I find 'tis altogether empty,
“ and I have no reason in the World to think
“ that it was made in vain, because I find every
“ Organ appointed for such and such particular
“ Functions. How then can this Ventricle of the
“ Heart, which I see is of so excellent a Frame,
“ serve for no use at all? I cannot think but that
“ the same thing which I am in search of, once
“ dwelt here, but has now deserted his Habita-
“ tion and left it empty, and that the Absence
“ of that thing has occasion'd this Privation of
“ Sense and Cessation of Motion which hap-
“ pen'd to the Body.” Now when he perceiv'd
that the Being which had inhabited there before
had left its House before it fell to Ruine, and
forsaken it when as yet it continu'd whole and
entire, he concluded that it was highly probable
that it would never return to it any more, after
its being so cut and mangled.

§ 22

Upon this the whole Body seem'd to him a very inconsiderable thing, and worth nothing in respect of that Being he believed once inhabited, and now had left it. Therefore he applied himself wholly to the consideration of that Being. What it was and how it subsisted? What joyn'd it to this Body? Whither it went, and by what passage, when it left the Body? What was the Cause of its Departure, whether it were forc'd to leave its Mansion, or left the Body of its own accord? And in case it went away Voluntarily, what it was that render'd the Body so disagreeable to it, as to make it forsake it? And whilst he was perplext with such variety of Thoughts, he laid aside all concern for the Carcass, and banish'd it from his Mind; for now he perceiv'd that his Mother, which had Nurs'd him so Tenderly and had Suckled him, was that *something* which was departed; and from it proceeded all her Actions, and not from this unactive Body; but that all this Body was to it only as an Instrument, like his Cudgel which he had made for himself, with which he used to Fight with the Wild Beasts. So that now, all his regard to the Body was remov'd, and transferr'd to that by which the Body is govern'd, and by whose Power it moves. Nor had he any other desire but to make enquiry after that.

§ 23

In the mean time the Carcass of the Roe began to putrifie and emit Noisome Vapours, which still increas'd his aversion to it, so that he did not care to see it. 'Twas not long after that he chanc'd to see two Ravens engag'd so furiously, that one of them struck down the other Stark Dead; and when he had done, he began to scrape with his Claws till he had digg'd a Pit, in which he Buried the Carcass of his Adversary. The Boy observing this, said to himself: " How well has this Raven done in Burying the Body of his Companion, tho' he did ill in Killing him! How much greater reason was there for me to have been forward in performing this Office to my Mother?" Upon this he digs a Pit, and lays the Body of his Mother into it, and Buries her. He proceeded in his Enquiry concerning what that should be by which the Body was govern'd, but could not Apprehend what it was. When he look'd upon the rest of the Roes and perceiv'd that they were of the same form and figure with his Mother, he could not resist the Belief that there was in every one of them something which mov'd and directed them, like that which had mov'd and directed his Mother formerly; and for the sake of that likeness he us'd to keep in their Company

THE HISTORY OF

able, and from that time he began to use himself to the Eating of Flesh, and applied himself to Fishing and Hunting till he understood those sports very well: upon this account he admir'd his Fire more and more, because it help'd him to several sorts of excellent Provision which he was altogether unacquainted with before.

§ 26

And now when his Affection towards it was increas'd to the highest degree, both upon the account of its Beneficial Effects and its Extraordinary Power, he began to think that the Substance which was departed from the Heart of his Mother the Roe, was, if not the very same with it, yet at least of a Nature very much like it. He was confirm'd in his Opinion because he had observ'd in all Animals, that as long as they liv'd, they were constantly warm without any Intermission, and as constantly Cold after Death. Besides he found in himself, that there was a greater degree of Heat by much in his Breast, near that place where he had made the Incision in the Roe. This made him think that if he could dissect any Animal alive, and look into that Ventricle which he had found empty when he dissected his Dam the Roe, he might possibly find it full of that Substance which

inhabited it, and so inform himself whether it were of the same Substance with the Fire, and whether it had any Light and Heat in it or not. In order to this he took a Wild Beast and ty'd him down, and dissected him after the same manner he had dissected the Roe, till he came to the Heart; and Essaying the left Ventricle first, and opening it, he perceiv'd it was full of an Airy Vapour which look'd like a little Mist or white Cloud, and putting in his Finger, he found it hotter than he could well endure it, and immediately the Creature Dyed. From whence he assuredly concluded that it was that Hot Vapour which communicated Motion to that Animal, and that there was accordingly in every Animal of what kind soever, something like it upon the departure of which Death follow'd.

§ 27

He was then mov'd by a great desire to enquire into the other parts of Animals, to find out their Order and Situation, their Quantity and the manner of their Connexion one with another, and by what means of Communication they enjoy the Benefit of that Hot Vapour, so as to live by it, how that Vapour is continu'd the time it remains, from whence it has its Supplies, and by what Means its Heat is pre-

THE HISTORY OF

serv'd. The way which he us'd in this Enquiry was the Dissection of all sorts of Animals, as well Living as Dead, neither did he leave off to make an accurate Enquiry into them, till at length he arrived to the highest degree of Knowledge in this kind which the most Learned Naturalists ever attain'd to.

§ 28

And now he Apprehended plainly that every particular Animal, tho' it had a great many Limbs, and variety of Senses and Motions, was nevertheless *One* in respect of that Spirit, whose Original was from one firm Mansion, *viz.* the Heart, from whence its Influence was diffus'd among all the Members, which were merely its Servants or Instruments. And that this Spirit made use of the Body in the same Manner as he himself did of his Weapons; with some he fought with Wild Beasts, with others captur'd them, and with others cut them up; the first kind of Weapons were either defensive or offensive; the second kind for the capture either of land or water Animals; the third, his dissecting Instruments, were some for Fission, others for Fraction, and others for Perforation. His Body, which was *One*, wielded those diverse Instruments according to the respective Uses of each, and the several ends which it propos'd to obtain.

§ 29

Likewise he perceiv'd that this Animal Spirit was *One*, whose Action when it made use of the Eye, was *Sight*; when of the Ear, *Hearing*; when of the Nose, *Smelling*; when of the Tongue, *Tasting*; and when of the Skin and Flesh, *Feeling*. When it employ'd any Limb, then its Operation was *Motion*; and when it made use of the Liver, *Nutrition* and *Concoction*. And that tho' there were Members fitted to every one of these uses, yet none of them could perform their respective Offices without having Correspondence with that Spirit by means of Passages called Nerves; and that if at any time it chanc'd that these passages were either broken off or obstructed, the Action of the corresponding Member would cease. Now these Nerves derive this Spirit from the Cavities of the Brain, which has it from the Heart (and contains abundance of Spirit, because it is divided into a great many partitions) and by what means soever any Limb is depriv'd of this Spirit, its Action ceases and 'tis like a cast off Tool, not fit for use. And if this Spirit depart wholly from the Body, or is consum'd or dissolv'd by any means whatsoever, then the whole Body is depriv'd of Motion and reduc'd to that State which is Death.

§ 30

Thus far had his Observations brought him about the end of the Third Seventh Year of his Age, *viz.* when he was One and Twenty Years Old. In which time he had made abundance of pretty Contrivances. He made himself both Cloaths and Shoes of the Skins of such Wild Beasts as he had dissected. His thread was made of Hair, and of the Bark of the Stalks of Althæa, Mallows, or Hemp, or any other Plants which afforded such Strings as were fit for that purpose. He learn'd the making of these threads from the use which he had made of the Rushes, before. He made awls of sharp Thorns, and Splinters of Cane sharpen'd with Flints. He learn'd the Art of Building from the Observations he made upon the Swallows Nests. He had built himself a Store-house and a Pantry, to lay up the remainder of his Provision in, and made a Door to it of Canes bound together, to prevent any of the Beasts getting in during his absence. He took Birds of prey and brought them up to help him in his Hunting, and kept tame Poultry for their Eggs and Chickens. He took the tips of the Buffalo's Horns and fasten'd them upon the strongest Canes he could get, and Staves of the Tree *al-Zân* and others; and so, partly by the help of the Fire, and partly of

sharp edg'd Stones, he so fitted them that they serv'd him instead of so many Spears. He made him a shield of Hides folded together. All this pains he took to furnish himself with Artificial Weapons, because he found himself destitute of Natural ones.

§ 31

Now when he perceiv'd that his Hand supplied all these defects very well, and that none of all the various kinds of Wild Beasts durst stand against him, but ran away from him and were too Nimble for him, he began to contrive how to be even with them, and thought there would be no way so proper as to chuse out some of the swiftest Beasts of the Island, and bring 'em up tame, and feed them with proper Food, till they would let him back them and then he might pursue the other kinds of Wild Beasts. There were in that Island both Wild Horses and Asses; he chose of both sorts such as seem'd fittest for his purpose, and by Training he made them wholly obedient to his Wishes. And when he had made out of Strips of Skin and the Hides of Beasts such things as serv'd him competently well in the Room of Bridles and Saddles, he could very easily then overtake such Beasts as he could scarce ever have been able to have catch'd any other manner of way. He made all

THE HISTORY OF

these discoveries whilst he was employed in the Study of Anatomy, and the searching out of the Properties peculiar to each Part, and the difference between them; and all this before the End of that time I speak of, *viz.* of the Age of 21 Years.

§ 32

He then proceeded further to examine the Nature of Bodies in this World of Generation and Corruption, *viz.* the different kinds of Animals, Plants, Minerals, and the several sorts of Stones, and Earth, Water, Vapour, Ice, Snow, Hail, Smoak, Flame, and glowing Heat; in which he observ'd many Qualities and different Actions, and that their Motions agreed in some respects, and differ'd in others. And considering these things with great Application, he perceiv'd that their Qualities also agreed in some things, and differ'd in others; and that so far as they agreed, they were *One*; but when consider'd with Relation to their differences, *a great many*: so that when he came to consider the Properties of things by which they were distinguish'd one from another, he found that they were innumerable and Existence seem'd to multiply itself beyond his Comprehension. Nay, when he consider'd the difference of his own Organs, which he perceiv'd were all distinct

from one another by some Property and Action peculiar to each, it seem'd to him that there was a *Plurality* in himself. And when he regarded any one Organ, he found that it might be divided into a great many parts, from whence he concluded, that there must needs be a Plurality not only in himself but in every other Thing also.

§ 33

Then viewing the Matter from another Side, he perceiv'd that tho' his Organs were many, yet they were Conjoyned and Compacted together so as to make one Whole, and that what difference there was between them consisted only in the difference of their Actions, which diversity proceeded from the Power of that Animal Spirit, the Nature of which he had before search'd into and found out. Now he remember'd that that Spirit was One in Essence, and the true Essence, and that all the Organs serve that Spirit as Instruments; and so, viewing the Matter from this side, he perceiv'd himself to be *One*.

§ 34

He proceeded from hence to the consideration of all the Species of Animals and found that every Individual of them was *One*. Next he consider'd them with regard to their different

THE HISTORY OF

Species, *viz.* as Roes, Horses, Asses and all sorts of Birds according to their kinds, and he perceiv'd that all the Individuals of every Species were exactly like one another in the shape of their Organs, both within and without, that their Apprehensions, Motions, and Inclinations were alike, and that those little differences which were visible amongst them were inconsiderable in respect of those many things in which they agreed. From whence he concluded that the Spirit which actuated any Species was one and the Same, only distributed among so many Hearts as there were Individuals in that Species; so that if it were possible for all that Spirit which is so divided among so many Hearts to be Collected into one Receptacle, it would be all the same thing, just as if any one Liquor should be pour'd out into several Dishes and afterwards put all together again in one Vessel, this Liquor would still be the *same*, as well when it was divided as when it was altogether, only in respect of that division it may be said in some sort to be Multiplied. By this way of Contemplation he perceiv'd that a whole Species was One and the same thing, and that the Multiplicity of Individuals in the same Species is like the Multiplicity of Parts in the same Person, which indeed is not a real Multiplicity.

§ 35

Then he represented in his Mind all the several kinds of Animals, and perceiv'd that Sensation, and Nutrition, and the Power of moving freely where they pleas'd, were common to them all; which Actions he was assur'd before, were all very proper to the Animal Spirit, and that those lesser things in which they differ'd (notwithstanding their agreement in these greater) were not so proper to that Spirit. From this consideration he concluded that it was only One and the same Animal Spirit which Actuated all living Creatures whatsoever, tho' there was in it a little difference which each Species claim'd as peculiar to it self. For instance, suppose the same Water be pour'd out into different Vessels, that which is in this Vessel may possibly be something colder than that which is in another, tho' 'tis the same Water still, and so all the Portions of this Water which are at the same Degree of Cold will represent the peculiar State of the Animal Spirit which is in all the Animals of one Species. And as that Water is all one and the same, so is that Animal Spirit *One*, tho' there has occurr'd in it an Accidental Multiplicity. And so under this Notion he look'd upon the whole Animal Kingdom to be all *One*.

§ 36

Afterwards Contemplating the different Species of Plants, he perceiv'd that the Individuals of every Species were alike, both in their Boughs, Leaves, Flowers, Fruits, and manner of Growing. And comparing them with Animals he found that there must needs be some one thing which they did all of them partake of, which was the same to them that the Animal Spirit was to the living Creature, and that in respect of *That* they were all One. Whereupon, taking a view of the Vegetable Kingdom, he concluded that it was One, by reason of that Agreement which he found in the Functions of Plants, *viz.* their Nourishment and Growing.

§ 37

Then he associated in his Mind, the Kingdoms of Animals and Plants together, and found that they were both alike in their Nutrition and Growing, only the Animals excell'd the Plants in Sensation and Apprehension and Movement, and yet he had sometimes observ'd something like it in Plants, *viz.* That some Flowers do turn themselves towards the Sun, and that the Plants extend their Roots that way the Nourishment comes, and some other such like things.

From whence it appear'd to him that Plants and Animals were One and the same, in respect of that *One thing* which was Common to them both; which was indeed more perfect in the One, and more obstructed and restrained in the other; like Water that is partly running and partly frozen. So that he concluded that Plants and Animals were all *One*.

§ 38

He next consider'd those Bodies which have neither Sense, Nutrition nor Growth, such as Stones, Earth, Water, Air, and Flame, which he perceiv'd had all of them Three Dimensions, *viz.* Length, Breadth, and Thickness, and that their differences consisted only in this, that some of them were Colour'd, others not, some were Warm, others Cold, and the like. He observ'd that those Bodies which were Warm grew Cold, and on the contrary, that those which were Cold grew Warm. He saw that Water was rarified into Vapour, and Vapour again Condens'd into Water; and that such things as were Burn't were turn'd into Coals, Ashes, Flame and Smoak, and if in its Ascent Smoak were intercepted by an Arch of Stone, it thickened there and became like certain Earthy Substances. From whence it appear'd

THE HISTORY OF

to him that all these things were in Reality *One*, tho' multiplied and diversified accidentally as the Plants and Animals were.

§ 39

Then considering with himself what that thing must be which constituted the Unity of Plants and Animals, he saw that it must be some *Body*, like those Bodies, which had a Threefold Dimension, *viz.* Length, Breadth, and Thickness; and that whether it were Hot or Cold, it was like any of those other Bodies which have neither Sense nor Nutrition, and differ'd from them only in those Acts which proceeded from it by means of Animal or Vegetable Organs. And that perchance those Acts were not Essential, but deriv'd from something else, so that if those Acts were to be produced in those other Bodies, they would be like this Body. Considering it therefore abstractedly, with regard to its Essence only, as stript of those Acts which at first sight seem'd to emanate from it, he perceiv'd that it was a *Body*, of the same kind, with those other Bodies; upon which Contemplation it appear'd to him that all Bodies, as well those that had Life, as those that had not, as well those that mov'd, as those that rested in their Natural

places were *One*; only there were some from which Acts proceeded by means of Organs; concerning which Acts he could not yet determine whether they were Essential, or deriv'd from something without. Thus he continu'd, considering nothing but the Nature of Bodies, and by this means he perceiv'd that whereas at first sight, *Things* had appear'd to him innumerable and not to be comprehended; Now, he discovered the whole Mass and Bulk of Creatures were in Reality only *One*.

§ 40

He continu'd in this State a considerable time. Then he consider'd all sorts of Bodies, both Animate and Inanimate, which one while seem'd to him to be *One*; and another, *a great many*. And he found that all of them had a Tendency either upward, as Smoak, Flame, and Air when detain'd under Water; or else downward, as Water, pieces of Earth, or Parts of Animals and Plants; and that none of these Bodies were free from one or other of these Tendencies, or would ever lye still, unless hinder'd by some other Body, and interrupted in their course; as when, for instance, a Stone in its fall is stopp'd by the solidity and hardness of the Earth, when 'tis plain it would otherwise

THE HISTORY OF

continue still descending; and if you lift it, you feel that it presses upon you by its Tendency toward the lower Place to which it seeks to descend. So Smoak still continues going upwards, and if it should be intercepted by a solid Arch, it would divide both to the right and left, and so soon as it was freed from the Arch, would still continue ascending and pass through the Air, which is not solid enough to restrain it. He perceiv'd also that when a Leathern Bottle is fill'd with Air and its Neck tightly bound, if you hold it under Water it will still strive to get up till it returns to its place of Air, and then it rests, and its resistance and its propensity to ascend ceases.

§ 41

He then enquir'd whether or no he could find any Body that was at any time destitute of both these Motions, or a Tendency toward them, but he could find none such among all Bodies which he had about him. The reason of this Enquiry was, because he was very desirous to know the Nature of Body, as such, abstracted from all manner of Properties, from whence arises Multiplicity. But when he found this too difficult a Task for him, and he had examin'd those Bodies which had the fewest Properties, and could find none of them void of one of these two, *viz.*

Heaviness or Lightness; he proceeded to consider the Nature of these two Properties, and to examine whether they did belong to Body *quatenus* Body, or else by reason of some Property superadded to Corporeity. It seem'd to him that *Gravity* and *Levity* did not belong to Body as such; for if so, then no Body could subsist without them both: whereas on the contrary, we find that the Heavy Bodies are void of all Lightness and the Light Bodies are void of all Heaviness. Without doubt they are two Sorts of Bodies, and each possesses an Attribute which distinguishes it from the other, and which is superadded to its Corporeity, otherwise they would be both one and the same thing, in every respect. From whence it appear'd plainly that the Essence both of an *Heavy* and *Light Body* was compos'd of two Attributes; One, which was common to them both, *viz.* *Corporeity*; the other, by which they are distinguish'd one from the other, *viz.* *Gravity* in the one, and *Levity* in the other, which were super-added to Corporeity.

§ 42

In like manner he consider'd other Bodies, both Animate and Inanimate, and found their Essence was composed of Corporeity, and some

THE HISTORY OF

one thing or more superadded to it. And thus he attain'd a Notion of the *Forms* of Bodies, according to their differences. These were the first things he found out, belonging to the Spiritual World; for these *Forms* are not the objects of Sense, but are apprehended by Intellectual Speculation. Now among other things of this kind which he discover'd, it appear'd to him that the *Animal Spirit* which is lodged in the Heart (as we have mention'd before) must necessarily have some Attribute superadded to its *Corporeity*, which render'd it capable of those wonderful Actions, different Sensations and Ways of apprehending Things, and various sorts of Motions; and that this Attribute must be its *Form*, by which it is distinguish'd from other Bodies, which is the same that the Philosophers call the Animal Soul. And so in Plants, that which was in them the same that Natural Heat was in Beasts, must have something proper to it, which was its *Form*, which the Philosophers call the Vegetative Soul. And that there was also in inanimate things (*viz.* all Bodies, besides Plants and Animals, which are in this sublunary World) something peculiar to them, by the Power of which every one of them perform'd such Actions as were proper to it, namely, various sorts of Motion and different kinds of sensible Qualities; and that thing was

the *Form* of every one of them, and this is the same which the Philosophers call *Nature*.

§ 43

And when by this Contemplation it appear'd to him plainly that the true Essence of that *Animal Spirit* on which he had been so intent, was compounded of Corporeity and some other Attribute superadded to that Corporeity, and that it had its Corporeity in common with other Bodies; but that this other Attribute which was superadded was peculiar to it self: Immediately he despis'd and rejected the Notion of Corporeity, and applied himself wholly to that other superadded Attribute (which is the same that we call the *Soul*) the Nature of which he earnestly desired to know. Therefore he fix'd all his Thoughts upon it, and began his Contemplation with considering all Bodies, not as Bodies, but as endu'd with *Forms*, from whence necessarily flow these Properties by which they are distinguish'd one from another.

§ 44

Now by following up this Notion and comprehending it in his Mind, he perceiv'd that all the Bodies of a certain Category had one *Form* in common, from whence one or more Actions

THE HISTORY OF

did proceed. And that there was in this Category a Class whose Members, tho' they agreed with all the rest in that one common Form, had another Form besides superadded to it, from whence some Actions proceeded. And further, that there was in this Class a Group, which agreeing with the rest in those two Forms which they had, was still distinguish'd from them by a third Form, superadded to those other two, from whence also proceeded some Actions. For instance, all Terrestrial Bodies, as Earth, Stones, Minerals, Plants, Animals, and all other heavy Bodies, do make up one Category, and possess in common the same Form, from whence flows Downward Movement, whilst there is nothing to hinder their Descent; and whensoever they are forc'd to move upwards, if they are left to themselves, they immediately by Virtue of their Form tend downwards again. Now a Class of this Category, *viz.* Plants and Animals, tho' they do agree with all that Multitude before mention'd, in that Form, yet still have another Form superadded to it, from whence flow Nutrition and Accretion. Now the meaning of Nutrition is, when the Body that is nourish'd, substitutes in the room of that which is consum'd and wasted from it self, something of the like kind, which it draws to it self, and then converts into its own Substance. Accretion, or

H A Y Y I B N Y A Q Z A N

Growing, is a Motion according to the three Dimensions, *viz.* Length, Breadth, and Thickness in a due Proportion. And these two Actions are common to Plants and Animals, and do without doubt spring from that Form which is common to them both, which is what we call the *Vegetative Soul*. Now a Group of this Class, *viz.* Animals, tho' they have the first and second Forms in common with the rest, have still a third Form superadded, from which arise Sensations and Local Motion. Besides, he perceiv'd that every particular Species of Animals had some Property which distinguish'd it and made it quite different from the rest, and he knew that this Difference must arise from some Form peculiar to that Species, which was superadded to the Notion of that Form which it had in common with the rest of Animals. And the like he saw happen'd to the several kinds of Plants.

§ 45

And it was evident to him that the Essences of those sensible Bodies, which are in this sub-lunary World, had some of them more Attributes superadded to their Corporeity, and others, fewer. Now he knew that the Understanding of the fewer must needs be more easie to him than the Understanding of those which were more

THE HISTORY OF

in number. And therefore he endeavour'd to get a true Notion of the Essence of some one Thing which had the fewest essential Attributes. Now he perceiv'd that the Essences of Animals and Plants were composed of a great many Attributes, because of the great variety of their Actions; for which reason he deferr'd the enquiring into their Forms. As for the Parts of the Earth, he saw that some of them were more simple than others, and therefore resolv'd to begin his Enquiry with the most simple of all. So he perceiv'd that *Water* was a thing far from complex, which appear'd from the Paucity of those Actions which arise from its Form. The same he likewise observ'd in the *Fire* and *Air*.

§ 46

Now he had already perceiv'd that all these four might be chang'd one into another; and that there must be some one thing which they jointly participated of, and that this thing was Corporeity. Now 'twas necessary that this one thing which was common to them all should be altogether free from those Attributes by which these four were distinguish'd one from the other, and be neither *heavy* nor *light*; *hot* nor *cold*; *moist* nor *dry*; because none of these Qualities were common to all Bodies, and there-

fore could not appertain to *Body* as such. And that if it were possible to find any such Body, in which there was no other Form superadded to Corporeity, it would have none of these Qualities, nor indeed any other but what were common to all Bodies, with what Form soever endu'd. He consider'd therefore with himself, to see if he could find any one Adjunct or Property which was common to all Bodies, both animate and inanimate; but he found nothing of that Nature, but only the Notion of Extension, and that he perceiv'd was common to all Bodies, *viz.* That they had all of them length, breadth, and thickness. Whence he gather'd, that this Notion belong'd to Body, as Body. However, his Sense could not represent to him any Body existent in Nature, which had this only Property, and was void of all other Forms: For he saw that every one of them had some other Notion superadded to the said Extension.

§ 47

Then he consider'd further, whether this Three-fold Extension was the very Notion of Body, without the addition of another Notion; and quickly found that behind this Extension there was another Notion, in which this Extension did exist, and that Extension could not

THE HISTORY OF

subsist by it self, as also the Thing which was extended could not subsist by it self without Extension. This he experimented in some of those sensible Bodies which are endu'd with Forms; for Example, in Clay: Which he perceiv'd, when moulded into any Figure, (Spherical suppose) had in it a certain Proportion, Length, Breadth, and Thickness. But then if you took that very same Ball, and reduc'd it into a Cubical or Oval Figure, the Dimensions were chang'd, and did not retain the same Proportion which they had before, and yet the Clay still remain'd the same, without any Change, only that it must always have a Length, Breadth, and Thickness, in some Proportion or other, and could not be depriv'd of these Dimensions: Yet it was plain to him from the successive Alterations of them in the same Body, that they constituted a Notion distinct from the Clay itself; as also, that because the Clay could not be altogether without them, it appear'd to him that they belong'd to its Essence. And thus from this Consideration it appear'd to him that Body regarded as Body, was composed in reality of two Notions: The one of which represents the Clay, of which the Sphere was made; the other, the Threefold Extension of it, when form'd into a Sphere, Cube, or what other Figure soever. Nor was it possible to conceive Body, but as

consisting of these two Notions, neither of which could subsist without the other. But that one (namely, that of Extension) which was liable to Change, and could successively put on different Figures, did represent the Form in all those Bodies which had Forms. And that other which still abode in the same State, (which corresponded to the Clay, in our last Instance) did represent the Notion of Corporeity, which is in all Bodies, of what Forms soever. Now that Thing which is represented by Clay in the foregoing Instance, is the same which the Philosophers call *Matter*, and $\vartheta\lambda\eta$, which is wholly destitute of all manner of Forms.

§ 48

When his Contemplation had proceeded thus far, and he was got to some distance from sensible Objects, and was now just upon the Confines of the intellectual World, he was diffident, and inclin'd rather to the sensible World, which he was more used to. Therefore he retreated a little and left the Consideration of abstracted Body (since he found that his Senses could by no means reach it, neither could he comprehend it) and applied himself to the Consideration of the most simple sensible Bodies he could find, which were those four

THE HISTORY OF

about which he had been exercis'd. And first of all he consider'd the Water, which he found, if let alone in that Condition which its Form requir'd, had these two things in it, *viz.* Sensible Cold, and a Propension to move downwards: But if heated by the Fire or the Sun, its Coldness was remov'd, but its Propension to move downwards still remain'd: But afterwards, when it came to be more vehemently heated, it lost its tendency downwards, and mounted upwards; and so it was wholly depriv'd of both those Properties which us'd constantly to emanate from its Form. Nor did he know any thing more of its Form, but only that these two Actions proceeded from thence; and when these two ceas'd, the Nature of the Form was alter'd, and the Watery Form was remov'd from that Body, as soon as it manifested Actions whose Nature is to emanate from another Form; and it received another Form which had not been there before, from which arose those Actions, which never us'd to appear in it whilst it had the first Form.

§ 49

Now he knew that every thing that was produc'd anew must needs have some Producer. And from this Contemplation, there arose in his Mind a sort of Impression of the

Maker of that Form, tho' his Notion of him as yet was general and indistinct. Then he paus'd on the examining of these Forms which he knew before, one by one, and found that they were produc'd anew, and that they must of necessity be beholden to some *Efficient Cause*. Then he considered the Essences of Forms, and found that they were nothing else, but only a Disposition of Body to produce such or such Actions. For instance, Water, when very much heated, is dispos'd to rise upwards, and that Disposition is its Form. For there is nothing present in all this, but a Body, and some things which are observ'd to arise from it, which were not in it before (such as Qualities and Motions) and an *Efficient Cause* which produces them. And the fitness of a Body for one Motion rather than another, is its *Disposition* and Form. The same he concluded of all other Forms, and it appear'd to him that those Actions which emanated from them were not in reality owing to them, but to the *Efficient Cause* which produced in them those Actions which are attributed to them. Which Notion of his is exactly the same with what the Apostle of God says (may God bless him and grant him Peace!): *I am his Hearing by which he hears, and his Seeing by which he sees;* and in the Clear Book of Revelation: *You did not kill them, but God*

THE HISTORY OF

*kill'd them; when thou threwest the Darts, it was
not thou that threwest them, but God.*¹

§ 50

Now, when he had attain'd thus far, so as to have a general and indistinct Notion of this *Agent*, he had a most earnest Desire to know it distinctly. And because he had not as yet withdrawn himself from the sensible World, he began to look for this *Agent* among sensible Things; nor did he as yet know whether it was one Agent or many. Therefore he enquir'd strictly into all such Bodies as he had about him, *viz.* those which he had been employ'd about all along, and he found that they were all liable to *Generation* and *Corruption*. And if there were any which did not suffer a total Corruption, yet they were liable to a partial one, as *Water* and *Earth*, the parts of which, he observ'd, were consum'd by *Fire*. Likewise among all the rest of the Bodies which he was conversant with, he could find none which were not produced anew and therefore dependent upon some *Agent*. Upon which account he laid them all aside, and transferr'd his Thoughts to the Consideration of the Heavenly Bodies. And thus far he reach'd in his Contemplations, about the end of the

¹ Koran viii, 17.

fourth Septenary of his Age, *viz.* when he was now eight and twenty Years old.

§ 51

Now he knew very well that the Heavens, and all the Luminaries in them, were Bodies, because they were all extended according to the three Dimensions, Length, Breadth and Thickness, without any exception; and that every thing that was so extended, was Body; *ergo*, they were all Bodies. Then he consider'd next, whether they were extended infinitely, as to stretch themselves to an endless Length, Breadth and Thickness; or, whether they were circumscrib'd by any Limits, and terminated by some certain Bounds, beyond which there could be no Extension. But here he stop'd a while, as in a kind of Amazement.

§ 52

At last, by the strength of his Apprehension and Sagacity of his Understanding, he perceiv'd that the Notion of infinite Body was absurd and impossible, and a Notion wholly unintelligible. He confirm'd himself in this Judgment of his by a great many Arguments which occur'd to him, and he thus argued with himself: That this heavenly Body is terminated

THE HISTORY OF

on this side which is next to me, is evident to my sight; and that it cannot be infinitely extended on that opposite side, which rais'd this Scruple in me, I prove thus. Suppose two Lines drawn from the Extremity of this Heavenly Body, on that terminated side which is next to me, which Lines should be produc'd quite through this Body, *in infinitum*, according to the Extension of the Body; then suppose a long part of one of these Lines cut off at this End which is next to me; then take the Remainder of what was cut off, and draw down that end of it where it was cut off, and lay it even with the end of the other Line from which there was nothing cut off; and let that Line which was shorten'd lye parallel with the other; then follow these two Lines in the Direction in which we suppos'd them to be infinite. Either you will find both these Lines infinitely extended, and then one of them cannot be shorter than the other, but that which had a part of it cut off will be as long as that which had not, which is absurd: Or else the Line which was cut will not go on for ever like that other, but will stop and consequently be finite. Therefore if you add that part to it which was cut off from it at first, which was finite, the whole will be finite; and it will be no longer or shorter than that Line which had nothing cut off from it, but equal to it. But this

is finite, therefore the other is finite. And the Body in which such Lines are drawn is finite. But such Lines may be drawn in all Bodies. Therefore if we suppose an infinite Body, we suppose an Absurdity and Impossibility.

§ 53

When by the singular strength of his Genius (which he exerted in the finding out such a Demonstration) he had satisfied himself that the Body of Heaven was finite, he desired, in the next place, to know what Figure it was of, and how it was limited by the circumambient Superficies. And first he observ'd the Sun, Moon and Stars, and saw that they all rose in the East, and set in the West; and those which went right over his Head describ'd a great Circle, but those at a greater distance from the Vertical Point, either Northward or Southward, describ'd a lesser Circle. So that the least Circles which were describ'd by any of the Stars, were those two which went round the two Poles, the one North, the other South; the last of which is the Circle of *Sohail* or *Canopus*; the first, the Circle of those two Stars which are called *Alpherkadâni*. Now because he liv'd under the Equinoctial Line (as we shew'd before) all those Circles did cut the Horizon at right

THE HISTORY OF

Angles, and both North and South were alike to him, and he could see both the Pole-Stars. He observ'd that if a Star arose at any time in a great Circle, and another Star at the same in a lesser Circle, yet nevertheless, as they rose together, so they set together: and he observ'd it of all the Stars, and at all times. From whence he concluded that the Heaven was of a Spherical Figure; in which Opinion he was confirm'd, by observing the Return of the Sun, Moon and Stars to the East, after their Setting; and also, because they always appear'd to him of the same bigness, both when they rose, and when they were in the midst of Heaven, and at the time of their Setting; whereas, if their Motions had not been Circular, they must have been nearer to sight at some times than others, and consequently their Dimensions would have appear'd proportionably greater or lesser; but since there was no such Appearance, he concluded that the Heaven was spherical. Then he consider'd the Motion of the Moon and the Planets from West to East, till at last he understood a great part of Astronomy. Besides, he apprehended that their Motions must be in different Spheres, all which were comprehended in another which was above them all, and which turn'd about all the rest from East to West in the space of a Day and a Night. But it were too tedious to explain par-

ticularly how he advanc'd in this Science; besides, 'tis taught in other Books; and what we have already said is as much as is requisite for our present purpose.

§ 54

When he had attain'd to this degree of Knowledge, he found that the whole Orb of the Heavens and whatsoever was contain'd in it, was as one Thing compacted and join'd together; and that all those Bodies which he us'd to consider before, as Earth, Water, Air, Plants, Animals and the like, were all of them so contain'd in it, as never to go out of its Bounds: and that the whole was like One Animal, in which the Luminaries represented the Senses; the Spheres so join'd and compacted together, answer'd to the Limbs; and in the midst, the World of Generation and Corruption, to the Belly, in which the Excrements and Humors are contain'd, and which oftentimes breeds Animals, as the Greater World.

§ 55

Now when it appear'd to him that the whole World was as One Individual, and he had united all the Parts of it by the same way of thinking which he had before made use of in

THE HISTORY OF

if he should be the Object of Sense, he must be Body, and if Body, then a Part of the World, and consequently a Created Being; such an one as would have stood in need of some other Cause to create him; and if that second Creator was Body, he would depend upon a third, and that third upon a fourth, and so *ad infinitum*, which is absurd. Therefore the World stands in need of an incorporeal Creator: And if the Creator thereof is incorporeal, 'tis impossible for us to apprehend him by any of our Senses; for we perceive nothing by the help of them but Body, or such Accidents as adhere to Bodies: And if he cannot be perceiv'd by the Senses, it is impossible he should be apprehended by the Imagination; for the Imagination does only represent to us the Forms of things in their absence, which we have before learn'd by our Senses. And if he is not Body, we must not attribute to him any of the Properties of Body; the first of which is Extension, from which he is free, as also from all those Properties of Bodies which flow from it. And if he is the Maker of the World, doubtless he has the Sovereign Command and Knowledge of it. *Shall not he know it, that created it? He is wise, Omniscent!*¹

¹ Koran lxvii, 14.

§ 57

Furthermore, he saw that if he held the Eternity of the World, and that it always was as it now is, without any Privation before it; then it would follow that its Motion must be Eternal too; because there could be no Rest before it, from whence it might commence its Motion. Now all Motion necessarily requires a Mover; and this Mover must be either a Power diffus'd through some Body, that is through the Body of a Being which moves itself, or through some other Body without it, or else a certain Power not diffus'd or dispers'd through any Body at all. Now every Power which passeth, or is diffus'd, through any Body, is divided or doubled according as the Body is divided or doubled. For instance; the Gravity in a Stone, by which it tends downwards, if you divide the Stone into two parts, is divided into two parts also; and if you add to it another like it, the Gravity is doubled. And if it were possible to add Stones *in infinitum*, the Gravity would increase *in infinitum* too. And if a Stone should grow to a certain size and stop there, the Gravity would also increase to such a pitch, and no farther. Now it is demonstrated that all Body must necessarily be finite; and consequently, that Power which is in Body is finite

THE HISTORY OF

too. If therefore we can find any Power which produces an Infinite Effect, 'tis plain that it is not in Body. Now we find that the Heav'n is mov'd about with a Perpetual Motion, without any Cessation, since we admit the Heaven to be eternal. Whence it necessarily follows that the Power which moves it is not in its own Body, nor in any other Exterior Body; but proceeds from something altogether abstracted from Body, and which cannot be describ'd by Corporeal Adjuncts or Properties. Now he had learn'd from his first Contemplation of the World of Generation and Corruption, that the true Reality of Body consisted in its *Form*, which is its Disposition to several sorts of Motion; but that the Reality which consisted in its *Matter* was very mean, and scarce possible to be conceiv'd. Therefore the Reality of the whole World consists in its Disposition to be mov'd by this Mover, who is free from *Matter* and the Properties of Body, abstracted from every thing which we can either perceive by our Senses or reach by our Imagination. And if he is the Efficient Cause of the divers Motions of the Heavens, which he produces by an Action in which there is no Irregularity, no Abatement, no Cessation; without doubt he has Power over them, and a Knowledge of them.

§ 58

Thus his Contemplation this Way brought him to the same Conclusion it did the other Way. So that doubting concerning the Eternity of the World, and its Existence *de novo*, did him no harm at all. For it was plain to him both ways, that there was an Agent, which was not Body, nor join'd to Body, nor separated from it, nor within it, nor without it, because Conjunction and Separation, and being within any thing, or without it, are all Properties of Body, from which that Agent is altogether abstracted. And because the Matter in all Bodies stands in need of a Form, as not being able to subsist without it, nor exist really, and the Form it self cannot exist but by this Agent; it appear'd to him that all things ow'd their Existence to this Agent, and that none of them could subsist but through him: and consequently, that he was the Cause, and they the Effects, (whether they were newly created after a Privation, or whether they had no Beginning in time 'twas all one) and Creatures whose Existence depended upon that Agent; and that without his Continuance they could not continue, nor exist without his Existing, nor have been Eternal without his being Eternal; but that he was essentially independent of them, and free from

THE HISTORY OF

them. And how should it be otherwise, when it is demonstrated that his Power and Might are infinite, and that all Bodies and whatsoever belongs to them are finite? Consequently, that the whole World and whatsoever was in it, the Heavens, the Earth, the Stars, and whatsoever was between them, above them, or beneath them, was all his Work and Creation, and posterior to him in Nature, if not in Time. As, if you take any Body whatsoever in your Hand, and then move your Hand, the Body will without doubt follow the Motion of your Hand, with such a Motion as shall be posterior to it in Nature, tho' not in Time, because they both began together. So all this World is caus'd and created by this Agent, out of Time, *Whose Command is, when he would have any thing done, Be, and it is.*¹

§ 59

And when he perceiv'd that all things which did exist were his Workmanship, he look'd them over again, considering in them attentively the Power of their Author, and admiring the Wonderfulness of the Workmanship, and such accurate Wisdom and subtil Knowledge. And there appear'd to him in the most minute Creatures (much more in the greater) such Footsteps

¹ Koran xxxvi, 82.

of Wisdom, and Wonders of the Work of Creation, that he was swallow'd up with Admiration, and fully assur'd that these things could not proceed from any other than an Agent of infinite Perfection, nay, that was above all Perfection; such an one "to whom the Weight of the least Atom was not unknown, whether in Heaven or Earth; no, nor any other thing, whether lesser or greater than it."¹

§ 60

Then he consider'd all the kinds of Animals, and how this Agent had given such a Fabrick of Body to every one of them, and then taught them how to use it. For if he had not directed them to apply those Members which he had given them, to those respective Uses for which they were design'd, they would have been so far from being of any Service that they would rather have been a Burden. From whence he knew that the Creator of the World was super-eminently Bountiful and exceedingly Gracious. And then when he perceiv'd among the Creatures, any that had Beauty, Elegance, Perfection, Strength, or Excellency of any kind whatever, he consider'd with himself, and knew that it all emanated from that Agent, and from his

¹ Koran xxiv, 3.

THE HISTORY OF

Existence and Operation. And he knew that what the Agent had in his own Nature, was greater than that which he saw in the Creatures, more perfect and compleat, more beautiful and glorious, and more lasting; and that there was no proportion between the one and the other. Neither did he cease to prosecute this Search, till he had run through all the Attributes of Perfection, and found that they were all in this Agent, and all flow'd from him; and that he was most worthy to have them all ascrib'd to him, above all the Creatures which were describ'd by them.

§ 61

In like manner he enquir'd into all the Attributes of Imperfection, and perceiv'd that the Maker of the world was free from them all. And how was it possible for him to be otherwise, since the Notion of *Imperfection* is nothing but mere *Non-existence*, or what depends upon it? And how can he any way partake of *Non-existence*, who is the *Pure Existence*, necessarily by his Essence; who gives Being to every thing that exists, and besides whom there is no Existence; but *He* is the Being, *He* the Perfection, *He* the Plenitude, *He* the Beauty, *He* the Glory, *He* the Power, *He* the Knowledge?

He is He, and besides Him all things are subject to perishing.¹

§ 62

Thus far his Knowledge had brought him towards the end of the fifth Septenary from his Birth, *viz.* when he was 35 Years old. And the Consideration of this Supream Agent was then so rooted in his Heart, that it diverted him from thinking upon any thing else: and he so far forgot the Consideration of the Creatures, and the Enquiring into their Natures, that as soon as e'er he cast his Eyes upon any thing of what kind soever, he immediately perceiv'd in it the Work of this Agent; and in an instant his Thoughts were taken off from the Work, and transferr'd to the Worker. So that he was inflam'd with the desire of him, and his Heart was altogether withdrawn from thinking upon this inferior World, which contains the Objects of Sense, and wholly taken up with the Contemplation of the upper, Intellectual World.

§ 63

Having now attain'd to the Knowledge of this Supream Being, which has no Cause of his own Existence, but is the Cause why all things else exist; he was desirous to know by what

¹ Koran xxviii, 88.

THE HISTORY OF

Means he had attain'd this Knowledge, and by which of his Faculties he had apprehended this Being. And first he examin'd all his Senses, *viz.* his Hearing, Sight, Smelling, Tasting and Feeling, and perceiv'd that all these apprehended nothing but Body, or what was in Body. For the Hearing apprehended nothing but Sounds, and these came from the Undulation of the Air, when Bodies are struck one against another; the sight apprehends Colours; the Smelling, Odours; the Taste, Savours; and the Touch, the Temperatures and Dispositions of Bodies, such as Hardness, Softness, Roughness and Smoothness. Nor does the Imagination apprehend any thing but as it has Length, Breadth, and Thickness. Now all these things which are thus apprehended are the Adjuncts of Bodies; nor can these Senses apprehend any thing else, because they are Faculties diffus'd through Bodies, and divided according to the division of Bodies, and for that reason cannot apprehend any thing else but divisible Body. For such a Faculty being diffus'd through something divisible, 'tis impossible, but that when it apprehends any thing whatsoever, that thing so apprehended must be divided as the Faculty is divided. For which Reason, no Faculty which is seated in Body can apprehend any thing but what is Body, or in it. Now it was already

demonstrated that this necessarily Existent Being is free in every respect from all Properties of Body; and consequently not to be apprehended but by something which is neither Body, nor any Faculty inherent in Body, nor has any manner of dependance upon it, nor is either within it, or without it, nor join'd to it, nor separated from it. From whence it appear'd to him that he had apprehended this Being by that which was his Essence, and that the notion of this Being was grounded in him. And from hence he concluded that this Essence where-with he perceived this Being was Incorporeal, and free from all the Properties of Body; and that all the external and corporeal part which he perceived in his being, was not in reality his Essence; but that his true Essence was *That*, by which he apprehended that Being of necessary Existence.

§ 64

Having thus learn'd that his Essence was not that Corporeal Mass which he perceiv'd with his Senses and was cloath'd with his Skin, he began to entertain mean Thoughts of his Body, and set himself to contemplate that Noble Essence, by which he had reach'd the Knowledge of that Superexcellent and Necessarily existent

THE HISTORY OF

Being; and began to consider whether this Noble Essence of his could possibly perish, or become corrupt and dissolve; or whether it were of perpetual duration. Now he knew that Corruption and Dissolution were Accidents of Body, and consisted in the putting off one Form, and putting on another. As for Instance: when Water is chang'd into Air, and Air into Water; or when Plants are turn'd into Earth or Ashes, and Earth again into Plants (for this is the true Notion of Corruption). But an Incorporeal Thing, which has no dependance upon Body, but is altogether free from the Accidents proper to Body, cannot be suppos'd to be liable to Corruption.

§ 65

Having thus secur'd himself in this Belief that his *Real Essence* could not be dissolv'd, he had a mind to know what Condition it should be in when it had laid aside the Body and was freed from it; which he already knew would not be, till the Body ceas'd to continue a fit Instrument for its use. Therefore he consider'd all his Apprehensive Faculties, and perceiv'd that every one of them did sometimes apprehend *Potentially*, and sometimes *Actually*; as the Eye when it is shut, or turn'd away from the Object,

sees *Potentially* (for the meaning of apprehending *Potentially* is, when it does not apprehend *now*, yet can do it for *the time to come*). And when the Eye is open, and turn'd toward the Object, it sees *Actually* (for that is call'd Actual, which is present). And so every one of these Faculties is sometimes in *Power*, and sometimes in *Act*. And if any of them did never *actually* apprehend its Proper Object, so long as it remains in *Power* it has no desire to its Particular Object; because it knows nothing of it (as a Man that is born blind). But if it did ever *Actually* apprehend, and then be reduc'd to the *Power* only: so long as it remains in that condition, it will desire to apprehend in *Act*; because it has been acquainted with the Object, and is intent upon it, and lingers after it; as a Man who could once see, and after is blind, continually desires Visible Objects. And according as the Object which he has seen is more perfect and glorious and beautiful, his Desire towards it is proportionably increas'd, and his Grief for the Loss of it so much the greater. Hence it is that the Grief of him who is depriv'd of that Sight he once had, is greater than his who is depriv'd of Smelling; because the Objects of Sight are more perfect and beautiful than those of Smelling. And if there be any thing of boundless Perfection, infinite Beauty, Glory and

THE HISTORY OF

Splendor, that is above all Splendor and Beauty, so that there exists no Perfection, Beauty, Brightness, or Comeliness, but flows from it; then certainly he that shall be depriv'd of the Sight and Knowledge of that Thing, after he has once been acquainted with it, must necessarily, so long as he continues in that State, suffer inexpressible Anguish; as on the contrary, he that continually has it present to him must needs enjoy uninterrupted Delight, boundless Felicity, and infinite Joy and Gladness.

§ 66

Now it had been already made plain to him that all the Attributes of Perfection belong'd to that Being which did necessarily self-exist, and that he was far from all manner of Imperfection. He was certain withal, that the Faculty by which he attain'd to the Apprehension of this Being was not like to Bodies, nor subject to Corruption, as they are. And from hence it appear'd to him that whosoever had such an Essence as was capable of apprehending this Noble Being, must, when he put off the Body as the time of his Death, have been formerly, during his Governorship of the Body, first, either one who was not acquainted with this necessarily self-existent Being, nor ever was

join'd to him, nor ever heard any thing of him; and so would, at the separating with the Body, never desire him, nor be concern'd at the want of him; because all the Corporeal Faculties cease when the Body dies, nor do they any longer desire or linger after their proper Objects, nor are in any trouble or pain for their absence. (This is the Condition of all Animals deprived of reason, whether they be of human shape or no.) Or else, secondly, such an one, who during his Governorship of the Body, did acquire a notion of this Being, and had a sense of his Perfection, Greatness, Dominion, and Power; but afterwards declin'd from him, and follow'd his carnal desires, till at length Death overtook him whilst in this State; he shall be depriv'd of that Vision, and yet be afflicted with the Desire of Enjoying it, and so remain in lasting Punishment and inexpressible Torture; whether he be to be deliver'd from his Misery after long pain, and enjoy that Vision which he us'd to desire, or, everlastinglly to abide in the same Torments, according as he was fitted and dispos'd for either of these two, during his continuance in the Body. Or lastly, he were such an one, who while in the body acquired the notion of this necessarily self-existent Being, and apply'd himself to it with the utmost of his Ability, and has all his Thoughts continually

THE HISTORY OF

intent upon his Glory, Beauty, and Splendor, and never turns from him, not forsakes him, till Death seizes him in the Act of Contemplation and Intuition: such a Man as this shall, when separated from Body, remain in everlasting Pleasure and Delight and Joy and Gladness, by reason of the uninterrupted Vision of that self-existent Being, and its entire freedom from all Impurity and Mixture; and because all those Sensible Things shall be remov'd from him, which are the proper Objects of the Corporeal Faculties, and which, in regard of his present State, are no better than Torments, Evils and Hinderances.

§ 67

Being thus satisfied that the Perfection and Happiness of his own Being consisted in the actually beholding that necessarily self-existent Being perpetually, so as not to be diverted from it so much as the twinkling of an Eye, that Death might find him actually employ'd in that Vision, and so his Pleasure might be continu'd, without being interrupted by any Pain; he began to consider with himself by what Means this Vision might actually be continu'd, without Interruption. So he was very intent for a time upon that Being; but he could not stay there

long, before some sensible Object or other would present it self to his view, or the Voice of some wild Beast would rend his Ears, or some Phantasy affected his Imagination, or he was touch'd with some Pain in some Part or other, or he was hungry, or dry, or too cold, or too hot, or was forc'd to rise to ease Nature; so that his Contemplation was interrupted, and he remov'd from that State of Mind; and then he could not, without a great deal of difficulty, recover himself to that State he was in before; and he was afraid that Death should overtake him at such a Time as his Thoughts were diverted from the Vision, and so he should fall into everlasting Misery and the Pain of Separation.

§ 68

This put him into a great deal of Anxiety, and when he could find no Remedy, he began to consider all the several Sorts of Animals, and observe their Actions, and what they were employ'd about; in hopes of finding some of them that might possibly have a Notion of this Being and an Endeavour after him; that so he might learn of them which way to be sav'd. But he found that they were all wholly taken up in getting their Provision, and satisfying their Desires of Eating and Drinking and Copula-

THE HISTORY OF

tion, and chusing the shady places in hot Weather, and the sunny ones in cold; and that all their life-time, both day and night, till they died, was spent after this manner, without any variation, or minding any thing else at any time. From whence it appear'd to him that they knew nothing of this Being, nor had any desire towards it, nor became acquainted with it by any Means whatsoever; and that they all tended toward a State of Privation, or something very near a-kin to it. Having pass'd this Judgment upon the Animals, he knew that it was much more reasonable to conclude so of Vegetables, which had but few of those Apprehensions which the Animals had; for if that whose Apprehension was more perfect did not attain to this Knowledge, much less could it be expected from that whose Apprehension was less perfect; especially when he saw that all the Actions of Plants reach'd no farther than Nutrition and Generation.

§ 69

He next consider'd the Stars and Spheres, and saw that they had all regular Motions, and went round in a due Order, and that they were pellucid and shining, and remote from any approach to Change or Corruption. Which made

him have a strong suspicion that they had Essences distinct from their Bodies, which were acquainted with this necessarily self-existent Being; and that these understanding Essences were neither Bodies nor imprinted in Bodies. And why might it not be suppos'd that they might have incorporeal Essences, when he himself had, notwithstanding his Weakness and extream need of sensible Things? For he partook of corruptible Body, and yet nevertheless, all his Defects did not hinder him from having an incorporeal incorruptible Essence. From whence he concluded that the Celestial Bodies were much more likely to have it; and he was assur'd that they had a Knowledge of that necessarily self-existent Being, and did actually behold it at all times, because they were not at all incumber'd with those Hinderances, arising from the Intervention of sensible Things, which debarr'd him from enjoying the Vision without Interruption.

§ 70

Then he began to consider with himself, what should be the reason why he alone, above all the rest of living Creatures, should be endu'd with such an Essence as made him like the Heavenly Bodies. Now he understood before the Nature of the Elements, and how one of

THE HISTORY OF

them us'd to be chang'd into another, and that there was nothing upon the Face of the Earth which always remain'd in the same Form, but that Generation and Corruption follow'd one another perpetually in a mutual Succession; and that most of these Bodies were mix'd and compounded of contrary Things, and were for that reason the more dispos'd to Corruption; and that there could not be found among them all any thing pure, but that such Bodies as came nearest to Purity, and had least mixture, are least subject to Corruption, as Gold and Jacinth; and that the Heavenly Bodies were simple and pure, and for that reason far remov'd from Corruption, and not subject to a Succession of Forms. Furthermore it was clear to him that the real Essence of those Bodies, which are in this sublunary World, consisted in some, of one single Form added to the Notion of Corporeity, as the four Elements; in others of more, as Animals and Plants; and that those, whose Essence consisted of the fewest Forms, had fewest Actions, and were farther distant from Life. And that if there were any Body to be found, that was destitute of all Form, it was impossible that it should live, but was next to nothing at all; also that those whose Essence was endu'd with most Forms, had the most Operations, and had more ready and easie

entrance to the State of Life. And if this Form were so dispos'd, that there were no way of separating it from the Matter to which it properly belong'd, then the Life would be manifest, permanent and vigorous to the utmost degree; but on the contrary, whatsoever Body was altogether destitute of a Form, was *ūlāy*, Matter without Life, and near a-kin to nothing. And that the four Elements subsisted with one single Form only, and are of the lowest Rank of Existence in the sublunary World, out of which other things endu'd with more Forms are compounded. And that the Life of these Elements is very weak, both because they have no variety of Motion, but always tend the same way; and because every one of them has an Adversary which manifestly opposes the Tendency of its Nature, and endeavours to deprive it of its Form; and therefore its existence lacks Stability, and its Life is weak. But that Plants had a stronger Life, and Animals a Life more manifest than the Plants: the reason of which is, because that whenever it happen'd that in any of these compound Bodies, the Nature of one Element prevail'd, that predominant Element would overcome the Natures of the rest, and destroy their Power, so that the compounded Body would be of the same Nature with that prevailing Element, and consequently partake but

THE HISTORY OF

of a small Portion of Life, because the Element it self does so.

§ 71

On the contrary, if there were any of these compounded Bodies, in which the Nature of one Element did not prevail over the rest, but they were all equally mix'd, and a match one for the other; then one of them would not abate the Force of the other, any more than its own Force is abated by it, but they would work upon one another with equal Power, and the Operation of any one of them would not be more conspicuous than that of the rest; and this Body would be far from being like to any one of the Elements, but would be as if it had nothing *contrary* to its *Form*, and consequently the more dispos'd for Life; and the greater this Equality of Temperature was, and by how much the more perfect, and further distant from inclining one way or other, by so much the farther it is distant from having any contrary to it, and its Life is the more perfect. Now since that Animal Spirit which is seated in the Heart is of a most even Temperature, as being finer than *Earth* and *Water*, and grosser than *Fire* and *Air*, it has the Nature of a Mean between them all, and which has no manifest Opposition to any of the Elements, and by this means is capable of the

Form of Animality. And he saw that it follow'd from hence, that those *Animal Spirits* which were of the most even Temperature, were the best dispos'd for the most perfect Life in this World of Generation and Corruption, and that this Spirit was very near having no opposite to its Form, and did in this respect resemble the Heavenly Bodies which have no opposite to their Forms; and that the Spirit of such an Animal, because it was a Mean between all the Elements, had no absolute Tendency, either upwards or downwards; but that, if it were possible it should be plac'd in the middle Space, between the Center and the highest Bounds of the Region of Fire, and not be destroy'd, it would continue in the same place, and move neither upwards nor downwards; but if it should be locally mov'd, it would move in a round, as the Heavenly Bodies do, and if it mov'd in its place, it would be round its own Center; and that it was impossible for it to be of any other Figure but Spherical, and for that reason it is very much like to the Heavenly Bodies.

§ 72

And when he had consider'd the Properties of Animals, and could not see any one among them, concerning which he could in the least

THE HISTORY OF

suspect that it had any Knowledge of this necessarily self-existent Being; but he knew that his own Essence had the Knowledge of it; he concluded from hence that he was an Animal, endu'd with a Spirit of an equal Temperature, as all the Heavenly Bodies are, and that he was of a distinct Species from the rest of Animals, and that he was created for another end, and design'd for something greater than what they were capable of. And this was enough to satisfie him of the Nobility of his Nature, namely, that his viler Part, *i.e.* the Corporeal, was most like of all to the Heavenly Substances, which are without this World of Generation and Corruption, and free from all accidents that cause any Defect, Change or Alteration; and that his nobler Part, *viz.* that by which he attain'd the Knowledge of the necessarily self-existent Being, was something Sovereign and Divine, not subject to Corruption, nor capable of being describ'd by any of the Properties or Attributes of Bodies; not to be apprehended by any of the Senses or by the Imagination, nor to be known by the means of any other Instrument but it self alone; and that it attain'd the Knowledge of it self by it self, and was at once the Knower, the Knowledge, and the Thing known; the Faculty and the Object. Neither was there any difference between any of these, because *Diversity* and

Separation are Properties and Adjuncts of Bodies; but *Body* was no way concern'd here, nor any Property or Adjunct of *Body*.

§ 73

Having apprehended the manner by which the being like the Heavenly Bodies was peculiar to him above all other kinds of Animals whatever, he perceiv'd that it was a Duty necessarily incumbent upon him to resemble them, and imitate their Actions, and endeavour to the utmost to become like them. He perceiv'd also that in respect of his nobler Part, by which he had attain'd the Knowledge of that necessarily self-existent Being he did in some measure resemble it, because he was separated from the Attributes of Bodies, as the necessarily self-existent Being is separated from them. He saw also that it was his Duty to endeavour to make himself Master of the Properties of that Being by all possible means, and put on his Qualities, and imitate his Actions, and labour in the doing his Will, and resign himself wholly to him, and submit to his Dispensations heartily and unfeignedly, so as to rejoice in him, tho' he should lay Afflictions upon his Body, and hurt, or even totally destroy it.

§ 74

He also perceiv'd that he resembled the Beasts in his viler part, which belong'd to this *Generable* and *Corruptible* World, *viz.* this dark, gross Body, which sought from that World a Variety of sensible Things, such as Food, Drink, and Copulation. And he knew that his Body was not created and join'd to him in vain, but that he was oblig'd to preserve it and take care of it, which he saw could not be done without some of those Actions which are common to the rest of the Animals. Thus it was plain to him that there were three sorts of Actions which he was oblig'd to, namely 1. those by which he resembled the Irrational Animals; or, 2. those by which he resembled the Heavenly Bodies; or, 3. those by which he resembled the necessarily self-existent Being. And that he was oblig'd to the *first*, as having a gross Body, consisting of several Parts, and different Faculties, and variety of Motions; to the *second*, as having an Animal Spirit, which had its Seat in the Heart, and was the first beginning of the Body and all its Faculties; to the *third*, as he was what he was, *viz.* as he was that Essence, by which he knew the necessarily self-existent Being. And he was very well assur'd before, that his Happiness and Freedom from Misery consisted in the

perpetual Vision of that necessarily self-existent Being, without being averted from it so much as the twinkling of an Eye.

§ 75

Then he weigh'd with himself, by what means a Continuation of this Vision might be attain'd, and the Result of his Contemplation was this, *viz.* That he was obliged to keep himself constantly exercis'd in these three kinds of Assimilation. Not that the first of them did any way contribute to the helping him to the Vision (but was rather an Impediment and Hindrance, because it was concern'd only in sensible Objects, which are all of them a sort of Veil or Curtain interpos'd between us and it) but because it was necessary for the Preservation of the Animal Spirit, whereby the Second Assimilation, *i.e.* the Assimilation to the Heavenly Bodies was acquir'd, and was for this reason necessary, though incumber'd with those Inconveniences. But as to the second Assimilation, he saw indeed that a great share of that continu'd Vision was attain'd by it, but that it was not without Mixture; because, whatsoever contemplates the Vision after this manner continually, does, together with it, have regard to, and cast a Look upon his own Essence, as shall be shewn

THE HISTORY OF

hereafter. But that the third Assimilation was that by which he obtain'd the pure Vision, and absolute Absorption, without being diverted from it one way or other by any means whatsoever, but being still intent upon that necessarily self-existent Being; which whosoever enjoys, has no regard to any thing else, and his own Essence is altogether neglected, and vanish'd out of sight, and become as nothing; and so are all other Essences both great and small, except only the Essence of that *One, True, Necessarily Self-existent, Highest and All-Powerful Being.*

§ 76

Now when he was assur'd that the utmost Bound of all his Desires consisted in this *third Assimilation*, and that it was not to be attain'd without being a long time exercis'd in the *second*, and that there was no continuing so long as was necessary for that Purpose, but by means of the *first* (which, how necessary soever, he knew was an Hindrance in itself, and an Help only by Accident), he resolved to allow himself no more of that first Assimilation than needs must, which was only just so much as would keep the Animal Spirit alive. Now, in order to this, he found there were two Things necessary; the former, to help it inwardly, and supply the

Defect of that Nourishment which was wasted; the latter, to preserve it from without, against the Extremities of Heat and Cold, Rain and Sun, hurtful Animals, and such like. And he perceiv'd that if he should allow himself to use these things, though necessary, unadvisedly and at Adventure, it might chance to expose him to Excess, and by that means he might do himself an Injury unawares. Whereupon he concluded it the safest way to set Bounds to himself, which he resolv'd not to pass; both as to the Kind of Meat which he was to eat, and the Quantity and Quality of it, and the Times of returning to it.

§ 77

And first he consider'd the several Kinds of those things which were fit to eat, and found that there were three sorts, *viz.* either such Plants as were not yet come to their full Growth, nor attained to Perfection, such as are several sorts of green Herbs: or secondly, the Fruits of Plants which were fully ripe, and had Seed fit for the Production of more of the same Kind (and such were the kinds of Fruits that were newly gathered and dry): or lastly, Living Creatures, both Fish and Flesh. Now he knew very well that all these things were created by that necessarily self-existent Being, in approaching

THE HISTORY OF

to whom he was assur'd that his Happiness did consist, and in desiring to resemble him. Now the eating of these things must needs hinder their attaining to their Perfection, and deprive them of that End for which they were design'd; and this would be an Opposition to the working of the Supream Agent, and such an Opposition would hinder that Nearness and Conformity to him which he so much desir'd. Upon this he thought it the best way to abstain from eating altogether, if possible; but when he saw that this would not do, and that such an Abstinence tended to the Dissolution of his Body, which was so much a greater Opposition to the Agent than the former, by how much he was of a more excellent Nature than those things, whose Destruction was the Cause of his Preservation; of two Evils he resolved to chuse the least, and do that which contain'd in it the least Opposition to the Creator; and resolved to partake of any of these sorts, if those he had most mind to were not at hand, in such quantity as he should conclude upon hereafter; and if it so happen'd that he had them all at hand, then he would consider with himself, and chuse that in the partaking of which there would be the least Opposition to the Work of the Creator: such as the pulp of those Fruits which were full ripe, and had Seeds in them fit to produce others of

the like kind, always taking care to preserve the Seeds, and neither eat them, nor spoil them, nor throw them in such places as were not fit for Plants to grow in, as on Rocks, salt Earth, and the like. And if such eatable pulpy Fruits as Apples, Pears, Plums, &c. could not easily be come at, he would then take such as had nothing in them fit to eat but only the Seed, as Walnuts and Chesnuts, or such green Herbs as were not fully grown; always observing this Rule, that let him take of which sort he would, he still chose those that there was greatest Plenty of, and which increased fastest, but so as to pull up nothing by the Roots, nor spoil the Seed. And if none of these things could be had, he would then take some living Creature, or its Eggs; but when he took any Animal, he must choose that sort of which there was the greatest Plenty, so as not totally to destroy any Species.

§ 78

These were the Rules which he prescrib'd to himself as to the Kinds of his Provision. As to the Quantity, his Rule was to eat no more than just what would satisfie his Hunger; and as for the time of his Meals, he design'd, when he was once satisfied, not to seek any more till he found some Disability in himself which hinder'd his

THE HISTORY OF

Exercise in the *second Assimilation* (of which we are now going to speak). As for those things which necessity requir'd of him towards the Conservation of his Animal Spirit, in regard of defending it from external Injuries, he was not much troubled about them, for he was cloath'd with Skins, and had a House sufficient to secure him from those Inconveniences from without, which was enough for him; and he thought it superfluous to take any further Care about those things; and as for his Diet, he observ'd those Rules which he had prescrib'd to himself, namely, those which we have just now set down.

§ 79

After this he apply'd himself to the second Operation, *viz.* the Imitation of the Heavenly Bodies, and expressing their proper Qualities in himself; which when he had consider'd, he found to be of three sorts. The *first* were such as had relation to those inferior Bodies which are plac'd in this World of Generation and Corruption, as Heat, which they impart by their Essence, and Cold by accident, Illumination, Rarefaction, and Condensation, and all those other things by which they influence these inferior Bodies, whereby these Bodies are dispos'd for the Reception of Spiritual Forms from

the necessarily self-existent Agent. The *second* sort of Properties which they had were such as concern'd their own Being, as that they were clear, bright and pure, free from all manner of Turbidness, and whatsoever kinds of Pollution; that their Motion was circular, some of them moving round their own Center, and some again round the Center of another. The *third* kind of their Properties were such as had relation to the necessarily self-existent Agent, as their continually beholding him without any Interruption, and having a Desire towards him, being busied in his Service, and moving agreeable to his Will, and not otherwise, but as he pleased, and by his Power. So he began to resemble them in every one of these three kinds to the utmost of his Power.

§ 80

And as for his *first* Conformity, his Imitation of them consisted in removing all things that were obstructive or hurtful, either from Animals or Plants, if they could be remov'd. So that if he saw any Plant which was depriv'd of the Benefit of the Sun by the Interposition of any other Body, or that its growth was hinder'd by its being twisted with any other Plant, he would remove that which hinder'd it if possible, yet so as not to hurt either; or if it was in danger of

THE HISTORY OF

dying for want of Moisture, he took what care he could to water it constantly. Or if he saw any Creature pursu'd by any wild Beast, or entangled in a Snare, or prick'd with Thorns, or that had gotten any thing hurtful into its Eyes or Ears, or was hungry or thirsty, he took all possible care to relieve it. And when he saw any Water-course stopp'd by any Stone, or any thing brought down by the Stream, so that any Plant or Animal was hinder'd of it, he took care to remove it. And thus he continu'd in this *first* kind of Imitation of the Heavenly Bodies, till he had attain'd it to the very height of Perfection.

§ 81

The *second* sort of Imitation consisted in his continually obliging himself to keep his body clean from all manner of Dirt and Nastiness, and washing himself often, keeping his Nails and his Teeth clean, and the secret Parts of his Body, which he used to rub whenever possible with sweet herbs and Perfume with Odors. He used frequently to make clean his Cloaths, and perfume them, so that he was all over resplendent with Beauty, Cleanliness and Fragrance. Besides this, he us'd different sorts of Circular Motion, sometimes walking round the Island, compassing the Shore, and going round the

utmost Bounds of it; sometimes walking or running a certain number of times round about his House or some Stone, at other times turning himself round so often that he was dizzy.

§ 82

The *third* sort of Imitation consisted in confining his Thoughts to the Contemplation of that necessarily self-existent Being. And in order to this, he remov'd all his Affections from sensible Things, shut his Eyes, stopp'd his Ears, and refrain'd himself as much as possible from following his Imagination, endeavouring to the utmost to think of nothing besides him, nor to admit together with him any other Object of Contemplation. And he us'd to help himself in this by rapidly turning himself round, in which when he was very violently exercis'd, all manner of sensible Objects vanish'd out of his sight, and the Imagination and all the other Faculties which make any use of the Organs of the Body grew weak; and on the other side, the Operations of his Essence, which depended not on the Body, grew strong, so that at some times his Meditation was pure and free from any Mixture, and he beheld by it the necessarily self-existent Being. But then again the Corporeal Faculties would return upon him and spoil his

THE HISTORY OF

Contemplation, and bring him down to the lowest degree¹ where he was before. Now, when he had any Infirmity upon him which interrupted his Design, he partook of some Food, but still according to the aforemention'd Rules; and then remov'd again to that State of Imitation of the Heavenly Bodies, in these three Respects which we have mention'd. And thus he continued for some time opposing his Corporeal Faculties, and they opposing him, and mutually struggling one against another; and at such times as he got the better of them, and his Thoughts were free from Mixture, he did apprehend something of the State of those who have attained to the *third Assimilation*.

§ 83

Then he began to seek after this *third Assimilation*, and took pains in the attaining it. And first he consider'd the Attributes of the necessarily self-existent Being. Now it had appear'd to him during the time of his Theoretical Speculation, before he enter'd upon the Practical Part, that there were two Sorts of them, *viz.* Positive, as Knowledge, Power and Wisdom; and Negative, as Immateriality, not only such as consisted in the not being Body, but in

¹ cf. Koran xciv, 5.

being altogether remov'd from any thing that had the least Relation to Body, though at never so great a Distance. And that this was a Condition not only requir'd in the Negative Attributes, but in the Positive too, *viz.* that they should be free from all Attributes of Body, of which *Multiplicity* is one. Now the Divine Essence is not multiplied by these Positive Attributes, but all of 'em together are one and the same thing, *viz.* his real Essence. Then he began to consider how he might imitate him in both these Kinds; and as for the Positive Attributes, when he consider'd that they were nothing else but his real Essence, and that by no means it could be said of them that they are *many* (because Multiplicity is an Attribute of Body), and that the Knowledge which he has of his Essence is his Essence; it appeared to him, that if he would know the Divine Essence, this Knowledge would not be a Notion superadded to the Divine Essence, but be the very Being Itself. And he perceived that his way to make Himself like to Him, as to what concern'd His Positive Attributes, would be to know Him alone, abstracted wholly from all Attributes of Body.

§ 84

This he apply'd himself to; and as for the Negative Attributes, they all consisted in the Exemption from Corporeity. He began therefore to strip himself of all Bodily Properties. This he had made some Progress in before, during the time of the former Exercise, when he was employ'd in the Imitation of the Heavenly Bodies; but there still remain'd a great many Relicks, as his Circular Motion (Motion being one of the most proper Attributes of Body) and his care of Animals and Plants, Compassion upon them, and Industry in removing whatever inconvenienc'd them (for this too belonged to corporeal Attributes, since in the first place it was by a corporeal Faculty that he saw them, and then by a corporeal Faculty that he laboured to serve them). Therefore he began to reject and remove all those things from himself, as being in no wise consistent with that State which he was now in search of. So he continu'd, confining himself to rest in the Bottom of his Cave, with his Head bow'd down, and his Eyes shut, and turning himself altogether from all sensible Things and the Corporeal Faculties, and bending all his Thoughts and Meditations upon the necessarily self-existent Being, without admitting any thing

else besides him; and if any other Object presented itself to his Imagination, he rejected it with his utmost Force, and exercis'd himself in this, and persisted in it to that Degree, that sometimes he did neither eat nor stir for a great many Days together. And whilst he was thus earnestly taken up in Contemplation, sometimes all manner of Beings whatsoever would be quite out of his Mind and Thoughts, except his own Essence only.

§ 85

But he found that his own Essence was not excluded his Thoughts, no not at such times when he was most deeply immers'd in the Contemplation of the True, Necessarily Self-existent Being. Which concern'd him very much, for he knew that even this was a Mixture in the pure Vision and the Admission of an extraneous Object in that Contemplation. Upon which he endeavour'd to disappear from himself and be wholly taken up in the Vision of that True Being; till at last he attain'd it; and then both the Heavens and the Earth, and whatsoever is between them, and all Spiritual Forms, and Corporeal Faculties, and all those Faculties which are separate from Matter (namely the Essences which know the necessarily self-existent Being) all disappear'd and vanish'd " like

THE HISTORY OF

"scattered dust,"¹ and amongst these his own Essence disappear'd too, and there remain'd nothing but this One, True, Perpetually Self-existent Being, who spoke thus in that Saying of his (which is not a Notion superadded to his Essence) *To whom now belongs the Kingdom?* *To God, the One, the Almighty.*² Which Words of his Hayy Ibn Yaqzan understood, nor was his being unacquainted with Words, and not being able to speak, any Hindrance at all to the understanding them. Wherefore he deeply immers'd himself into this State, and witness'd that which neither Eye hath seen, nor Ear heard, nor hath it ever enter'd into the Heart of Man to conceive.

§ 86

And now, let not thy Heart crave a Description of that which the Heart of Man cannot conceive. For if a great many of those things which the Heart doth conceive are nevertheless hard to be explain'd, how much more difficult must those be which cannot be conceiv'd by the Heart, nor are circumscrib'd in the Limits of that World in which it converses. Now, when I say the Heart, I don't mean the Substance of it, nor that Spirit which is contain'd in the

¹ Koran lvi, 6. ² Koran xl, 16.

Cavity of it; but I mean by it, the Form of that Spirit which is diffus'd by its Faculties through the whole Body of Man. Now every one of these three is sometimes call'd the Heart, but 'tis impossible that this thing which I mean should be comprehended by any of these three, neither can we express any thing by Words, which is not first conceiv'd in the Heart. And whosoever asks to have that State explain'd, asks an Impossibility; for 'tis just as if a Man should have a mind to taste Colours, *quatenus* Colours, and desire that *black* should be either *sweet* or *savre*. However, I shall not dismiss you without some Indications whereby I shall convey to you in some Measure what wonderful things he saw when in that Station, but all figuratively and by way of Parable, without knocking upon the Door of Truth; for there is no means to the Knowledge of that Station, but by coming thither. Attend therefore with the Ears of thy Heart and look sharply with the Eyes of thy Understanding upon that which I shall shew thee; it may be thou may'st find so much in it as may serve to lead thee into the right way. But I make this Bargain, that thou shalt not at present require any further Explication of it by Word of Mouth, but rest thy self contented with what I shall commit to these Leaves. For 'tis a narrow Field, and 'tis

THE HISTORY OF

dangerous to attempt the explaining of that with Words, the Nature of which admits no Explication.

§ 87

I say then, when he had abstracted himself from his own and all other Essences, and beheld nothing existing but only that *One, Permanent Being*: when he saw what he saw, and then afterwards return'd to the beholding of other Things; upon thus coming to himself from that State (which was like Drunkenness) he began to think that his own Essence did not at all differ from the Essence of that *True Being*, but that they were both one and the same thing, and that the thing which he had taken before for his own Essence, distinct from the Essence of the *True One*, was in reality nothing at all, and that nothing existed but the Essence of this *True One*. And that this was like the Light of the Sun, which, when it falls upon solid Bodies, shines there; and though it be attributed, or may seem to belong to that Body upon which it appears, yet it is nothing else in reality but the Light of the Sun. And if that Body disappear, its Light also disappears; but the Light of the Sun remains in its Integrity and is neither diminish'd by the Presence of that Body nor increas'd by its Absence. Now when there hap-

pens to be a Body which is fitted for such a Reception of Light, it receives it; if such a Body be absent, then there is no such Reception, and it signifies nothing at all.

§ 88

He was the more confirm'd in this Opinion, because it had appear'd to him before that the Essence of this *True, Powerful and Glorious Being* was not by any means capable of *Multiplicity*, and that his Knowledge of his Essence was his very Essence; from whence he argued thus:

He that has the Knowledge of this Essence, has the Essence itself; but I have the Knowledge of this Essence. Ergo, I have the Essence itself.

Now this Essence can be present no where but with itself, and its very Presence is the Essence, and therefore he concluded that he was that very Essence. And so all other Essences which were separate from Matter, which had the Knowledge of that *true Essence*, though before he had looked upon them as *many*, by this way of thinking, appear'd to him to be only one thing. And this misgrounded Conceit of his had like to have firmly rooted itself in his Mind, unless God had pursu'd him with his

THE HISTORY OF

Mercy and directed him by his gracious Guidance; and then he perceiv'd that it arose from the Relicks of that Obscurity which is natural to Body and the Dregs of sensible Objects. Because that *Much* and *Little*, *Unity* and *Multiplicity*, *Collection* and *Separation*, are all of them Attributes of Body. But we cannot say of these separate Essences which know the Essence of this *True One*, that they are *many* or *one*, because they are immaterial. For *Multiplicity* is because of the Separation of one Essence from another, and there can be no *Unity* but by *Conjunction*, and none of these can be understood without Compound Notions which are mix'd with Matter. But the Explication of Things in this place is very straight and difficult; because if you go about to express what belongs to these separate Essences, by way of Multitude, or in the *Plural*, according to our present way of speaking, this insinuates a Notion of *Multiplicity*, whereas they are far from being *many*; and if you speak of them by way of Separation, or in the Singular, this insinuates a Notion of *Unity*, whereas they are far from being *one*.

§ 89

And here methinks I see one of those Batts, whose Eyes the Sun dazzles, moving himself in the Chain of his Folly, and saying, "This

" Subtilty of yours exceeds all Bounds, for you
 " have withdrawn your self from the State and
 " Condition of understanding Men, and indeed
 " rejected the Authority of Reason, for this is a
 " Decree of Reason, that a thing must be either
 " one or more than one." Soft and fair; let that
 Gentleman be pleas'd to consider with himself,
 and contemplate this vile, sensible World,
 whereof he is a part, after the same manner
 which Hayy Ibn Yaqzân did, who, when he
 consider'd it one way, found such a Multiplicity
 in it, as was incomprehensible; and then again
 considering it another way, perceiv'd that it was
 only one thing; and thus he continu'd fluctuating
 and could not determine on one side more than
 another. Now if it were so in this sensible
 World, which is the home of *Multiplicity* and
Singularity, and the place where the true Nature
 of them is understood, and in which are
Separation and *Union*, *Aggregation* and *Distinction*,
Agreement and *Difference*, what would he think
 of the Divine World, concerning which we can-
 not justly say, *all*, nor *some*, nor express any thing
 belonging to it by such Words as our Ears are
 us'd to, without insinuating some Notion which
 is contrary to the Truth of the thing, which no
 Man knows but he that has had the Vision of it,
 nor truly understands, but he that has attain'd
 to it.

§ 90

And as for his saying, “ That I have withdrawn myself from the State and Condition of understanding Men, and rejected the Authority of Reason ”: I grant it, and leave him to his Understanding, and his understanding Men he speaks of. For that Understanding which he, and such as he, mean, is nothing else but that Logical Faculty which examines the Individuals of Sensible Things, and from thence gets an Universal Notion; and those understanding Men he means, are those which make use of this sort of Speculation. But that kind, which we are now speaking of, is above all this; and therefore let every one that knows nothing but Sensible Things and their Universals, shut his Ears, and pack away to his Company, who know the outside of the Things of this World, but take no care of the next.¹ But if thou art one of them to whom these Allusions and Signs by which we describe the Divine World are sufficient, and dost not put that Sense upon my Words, in which they are commonly us'd, I shall give thee some farther Account of what Hayy Ibn Yaqzân saw, when he was in the State of those who have attain'd to the Truth,

¹ Koran xxx, 6.

of which we have made Mention before, and it is thus:

§ 91

Having attain'd this total Absorption, this complete Annihilation, this veritable Union, he saw that the highest Sphere, beyond which there is no *Body*, had an Essence free from Matter, which was not the Essence of that *One*, *True One*, nor the Sphere itself, nor yet any thing different from them both; but was like the Image of the Sun which appears in a well-polish'd Looking-glass, which is neither the Sun nor the Looking-glass, and yet not distinct from them. And he saw in the Essence of that Sphere, such Perfection, Splendor and Beauty, as is too great to be express'd by any Tongue, and too subtil to be cloath'd in Words; and he perceiv'd that it was in the utmost Perfection of Delight and Joy, Exultation and Gladness, by reason of its beholding the Essence of that True One, whose Glory be exalted.

§ 92

He saw also that the next Sphere to it, which is that of the Fixed Stars, had an immaterial Essence, which was not the Essence of that *True One*, nor the Essence of that highest Sphere, nor the Sphere itself, and yet not different from these; but is like the Image of the Sun which

THE HISTORY OF

is reflected upon a Looking-glass from another Glass plac'd opposite to the Sun; and he observ'd in this Essence also the like Splendor, Beauty, and Felicity, which he had observ'd in the Essence of the other highest Sphere. He saw likewise that the next Sphere, which is the Sphere of *Saturn*, had an immaterial Essence, which was none of those Essences he had seen before, nor yet different from them; but was like the Image of the Sun, which appears in a Glass, upon which it is reflected from a Glass which receiv'd that Reflection from another Glass plac'd opposite to the Sun. And he saw in this Essence too, the same Splendor and Delight which he had observ'd in the former. And so in all the Spheres he observ'd distinct, immaterial Essences, every one of which was not any of those which went before it, nor yet different from them; but was like the Image of the Sun reflected from one Glass to another, according to the Order of the Spheres. And he saw in every one of these Essences, such Beauty, Splendor, Felicity and Joy, as Eye hath not seen nor Ear heard, nor hath it enter'd into the Heart of Man to conceive; and so downwards, till he came to the lower World, subject to Generation and Corruption, which comprehends all that which is contained within the Sphere of the Moon.

§ 93

This World he perceiv'd had an immaterial Essence, as well as the rest; not the same with any of those which he had seen before, nor different from them; and that this Essence had seventy thousand Faces, and every Face seventy thousand Mouths, and every Mouth seventy thousand Tongues, with which it praised, sanctified and glorified incessantly the Essence of that *One, True Being*. And he saw that this Essence (which seemed to be many, tho' it was not) had the same Perfection and Felicity, which he had seen in the others; and that this Essence was like the Image of the Sun, which appears in fluctuating Water, which has that Image reflected upon it from the last and lowermost of those Glasses, to which the Reflection came, according to the foremention'd Order, from the first Glass which was set opposite to the Sun. Then he perceiv'd that he himself had a separate Essence, which one might call a part of that Essence which had seventy thousand Faces, if that Essence had been capable of Division; and if that Essence had not been created in time, one might say it was the very same; and had it not been join'd to its Body so soon as it was created, we should have thought that it had not been created. And in this Order he saw Essences

THE HISTORY OF

like his own, which had belonged to Bodies existing heretofore but since dissolved, and Essences belonging to Bodies which existed together with himself; and that they were so many as could not be number'd, if we might call them *many*; or that they were all one, if we might call them *one*. And he perceiv'd both in his own Essence, and in those other Essences which were in the same Order with him, infinite Beauty, Splendor and Felicity, such as neither Eye hath seen, nor Ear heard, nor hath it enter'd into the Heart of Man; and which none can describe nor understand, but those which have attain'd to it, and experimentally know it.

§ 94

Then he saw a great many other immaterial Essences, which resembled rusty Looking-glasses, cover'd over with Filth, and besides, turn'd their Backs upon, and had their Faces averted from those polish'd Looking-glasses that had the Image of the Sun imprinted upon them; and he saw that these Essences had so much Filthiness adhering to them, and such manifold Defects as he could not have conceiv'd. And he saw that they were afflicted with infinite Pains, which caused incessant Sighs and Groans; and that they were compass'd about

with Torments, as those who lie in a Bed are with Curtains; and that they were scorch'd with the fiery Veil of Separation, and sawn asunder by the Saws of Repulsion and Attraction. And besides these Essences which suffered Tortment, he beheld others there which appear'd and straightway vanished, which took Form and soon dissolved: And he stayed a while regarding them intently, and he beheld an Immensity of Fear and Vastness of Operation, an Incessant Creation and Ordaining Wisdom, Construction, and Inspiration, Production and Dissolution. But after a very little while his Senses return'd to him again, and he came to himself out of this State, as out of a Swoon; and his Foot sliding out of this place, he came within sight of this sensible World, and lost the sight of the Divine World, for there is no joining them both together in the same State. For this World in which we live, and that other are like two Wives belonging to the same Husband; if you please one, you displease the other.

§ 95

Now, if you should object, that it appears from what I have said concerning this Vision, that these separated Essences, if they chance to be united to Bodies of perpetual Duration, as

THE HISTORY OF

the Heavenly Bodies are, shall also remain perpetually, but if they be united to a Body which is liable to Corruption (such an one as belongs to us reasonable Creatures) that then they must perish too, and vanish away, as appears from the Similitude of the Looking-glasses which I have us'd to explain it; because the Image there has no Duration of itself, but what depends upon the Duration of the Looking-glass; and if you break the Glass, the Image is most certainly destroy'd and vanishes. In answer to this I must tell you that you have soon forgot the Bargain I made with you. For did not I tell you before that it was a narrow Field, and that we had but little room for Explication; and that *Words* however us'd, would occasion Men to think otherwise of the thing than really it was? Now that which has made you imagine this, is, because you thought that the Similitude must answer the thing represented in every respect. But that will not hold in any common Discourse; how much less in this, where the Sun and its Light, and its Image, and the Representation of it, and the Glasses, and the Forms which appear in them, are all of them things which are inseparable from Body, and which cannot subsist but by it and in it, and therefore depend upon Body, and perish together with it.

§ 96

But as for the Divine Essences and Sovereign Spirits, they are all free from Body and all its Adherents, and remov'd from them at the utmost distance, nor have they any Connection or Dependance upon them. And the existing or not existing of Body is all one to them, for their sole Connection and Dependance is upon the Essence of that *One True Necessary Self-existent Being*, who is the first of them, and the Beginning of them, and the Cause of their Existence, and he perpetuates them and continues them for ever; nor do they want the Bodies, but the Bodies want them; for if they should perish, the Bodies would perish, because these Essences are the Principles of these Bodies. In like manner, if a Privation of the Essence of that *One True Being* could be suppos'd (far be it from him, for there is no God but him¹) all these Essences would be remov'd together with him, and the Bodies too, and all the sensible World, because all these have a mutual Connection.

§ 97

Now, tho' the Sensible World follows the Divine World, as a Shadow does the Body, and the Divine World stands in no need of it, but

¹ Koran ii, 256.

THE HISTORY OF

is free from it and independent of it, yet notwithstanding this, it is absurd to suppose a Possibility of its being annihilated, because it follows the Divine World: but the Corruption of this World consists in its being chang'd, not annihilated. It is this that the glorious Book expresses where it speaks of *Moving the Mountains and making them like tufts of Wool, and Men like Moths, and darkning the Sun and Moon; and Eruption of the Sea, in that day when the Earth, shall be chang'd into another Earth, and the Heavens likewise.*¹ And this is the Sum of what I can hint to you at present, concerning what Hayy Ibn Yaqzân saw, when in that glorious State. Don't expect that I should explain it any farther with Words, for that is even impossible.

§ 98

But as for what concerns the finishing his History, that I shall tell you, God willing. After his return to the sensible World from the Excursion which he had made, he loath'd this present Life, and most earnestly long'd for the Life beyond; and he endeavour'd to return to the same State, by the same means he had sought it at first, till he attain'd to it with less trouble than he did at first, and continu'd in it the

¹ Cf. Koran ci, 4, 5; lxxxi, 1; lxxxii, 3; xiv, 49.

second time longer than at the first. Then he return'd to the Sensible World; and then again endeavour'd to recover his Station, which he found easier than at the first and second time, and that he continu'd in it longer; and thus it grew easier and easier, and his Continuance in it longer and longer, time after time, till at last he could attain it when he pleas'd, and stay in it as long as he pleas'd. In this State he firmly kept himself, and never retir'd from it, but when the Necessities of his Body requir'd it, which he had brought into as narrow a Compass as was possible. And whilst he was thus exercis'd, he us'd to wish that it would please God to deliver him altogether from this Body of his, which detain'd him from that State; that he might have nothing to do but to give himself up wholly and perpetually to his Delight, and be freed from all that Torment with which he was afflicted as often as he was forc'd to avert his Mind from that State by attending on the Necessities of the Body. And thus he continu'd, till he was past the seventh Septenary of his Age, that is, till he was about fifty Years of Age. And then he happen'd to be acquainted with Asâl, the Narrative of which meeting of theirs, we shall now (God willing) relate.

§ 99

They say that in that Island where Hayy Ibn Yaqzân was born (according to one of the two different Accounts of his Birth) there had arrived one of those good Sects founded by some one of the ancient Prophets (upon whom be the Blessings of God!). A Sect which us'd to discourse of all the true Realities by way of Parable and Similitude, and by that means represent the Images of them to the Imagination, and fix the Impressions of them in Men's Souls, as is customary in such Discourses as are made to the Vulgar. This Sect so spread it self in this Island, and prevail'd and grew so eminent, that at last the King not only embrac'd it himself, but induced his Subjects to do so too.

§ 100

Now there were born in this Island two Men of extraordinary Endowments and Lovers of that which is Good; the Name of the one was Asâl, and the other Salâmân, who meeting with this Sect, embrac'd it heartily, and oblig'd themselves to the punctual Observance of all its Ordinances, and the daily Exercise of what was practis'd in it; and to this end they enter'd into a League of Friendship with each

other. Now among other Passages contain'd in the Law of that Sect, they sometimes made enquiry into these Words, wherein it treats of the Description of the most High and Glorious God, and his Angels, and the Resurrection, and the Rewards and Punishments of a future State. Now Asâl us'd to make a deeper Search into the inside of Things, and was more inclin'd to study Mystical Meanings and Interpretations. But as for his Friend Salâmân, he kept close to the literal Sense, and never troubled himself with such Interpretations, but refrain'd from such free Examination and Speculation of things. However, notwithstanding this Difference, they both were constant in performing those Ceremonies requir'd, and in calling themselves to an account, and in opposing their Passions.

§ 101

Now there were in this Law some Passages which seem'd to exhort Men to Retirement and a solitary Life, intimating that Happiness and Salvation were to be attain'd by it; and others which seem'd to encourage Men to Conversation, and the embracing Human Society. Asâl gave himself up wholly to Retirement, and those Expressions which favour'd it were of most weight with him, because he was naturally

THE HISTORY OF

inclin'd to Contemplation, and searching into the Meanings of Things; and his greatest hope was, that he should best attain his End by a solitary Life. Salâmân, on the other side, applied himself to Conversation, and those Sayings of the Law which tended that way, went the farthest with him; because he had a natural Aversion to Contemplation and free Examination of things. And he thought that Conversation did drive away Temptation, and banish'd evil thoughts, and afforded a Refuge from the Promptings of Devils. In short, their Disagreement in this particular was the occasion of their parting.

§ 102

Now Asâl had heard of that Island, in which we have told you that Hayy Ibn Yaqzân had his Breeding. He knew also its Fertility and Conveniences, and the healthful Temper of the Air, so that it would afford him such a Retirement as would serve the Fulfilment of his Wishes. Thither he resolv'd to go, and withdraw himself from Mankind the remaining part of his Days. So he took what Substance he had, and with part of it he hir'd a Ship to convey him thither, the rest he distributed among the poor People, and took his leave of his Friend

Salâmân, and went aboard. The Mariners transported him to the Island, and set him ashore and left him. There he continu'd serving God, and magnifying him, and sanctifying him, and meditating upon his glorious Names and Attributes, without any Interruption or Disturbance. And when he was hungry, he took what he had occasion for to satisfie his Hunger, of such Fruits as the Island afforded, or what he could hunt. And in this State he continu'd a while, in the mean time enjoying the greatest Pleasure imaginable, and the most entire Tranquillity of Mind, arising from the Converse and Communication which he had with his Lord; and every Day experiencing his Benefits and precious Gifts, and his bringing easily to his hand such things as he wanted and were necessary for his Support, which confirm'd his Belief in him, and refreshed his heart.

§ 103

Hayy Ibn Yaqzân, in the mean time, was wholly immers'd in his sublime Extasies, and never stirr'd out of his Cave but once a Week, to take such Provision as first came to hand. So that Asâl did not light upon him at first, but walk'd round the Island, and explor'd its various Parts, without seeing any Man, or so

THE HISTORY OF

much as the Footsteps of any: Upon which account his Joy was increas'd, and his Mind exceedingly pleas'd, in regard of his compassing that which he had propos'd to himself, namely, to lead the most retired Life that was possible.

§ 104

At last it happen'd, one time that Hayy Ibn Yaqzân coming out to look for Provision in the same place whither Asâl was retired, they spy'd one another. Asâl, for his part, did not question but that it was some religious Person, who for the sake of a solitary Life, had retir'd into that Island, as he had done himself, and was afraid, lest if he should come up to him and make himself known, it might spoil his Meditation, and hinder his attaining what he hop'd for. Hayy Ibn Yaqzân on the other side could not imagine what it was, for of all the Animals he had ever beheld in his whole Life, he had never seen any thing like it. Now Asâl had a black Coat on, made with Hair and Wool, which Hayy Ibn Yaqzân fancied was natural, and stood wondering at it a long time. Asâl turned and fled, for fear he should disturb his Meditation; Hayy Ibn Yaqzân ran after him, out of an innate desire he had to know the Truth of Things. But when he perceiv'd Asâl make so much

haste, he retir'd a little and hid himself from him; so that Asâl thought he had been quite gone off, and then he fell to his Prayers, and Reading, and Invocation, and Weeping, and Supplication, and Lamenting, till he was altogether taken up, so as to mind nothing else.

§ 105

In the mean time Hayy Ibn Yaqzân stole upon him by degrees, and Asâl was unaware of him, till he came so near as to hear him read and praise God, and observ'd his humble Behaviour, and his Weeping, and heard a pleasant Voice and measured Words, such as he had never observ'd before in any kind of Animals. Then he look'd upon his Shape and Lineaments, and perceived that he was of the same Form with himself, and was satisfied that the Coat he had on was not a natural Skin, but an artificial Habit like his own. And when he observ'd the Decency of his humble Behaviour, and his Supplication and Weeping, he did not at all question but that he was one of those Essences which had the Knowledge of the *True One*; and for that Reason he had a Desire to be acquainted with him, and to know what was the matter with him, and what caus'd this Weeping and Supplication. Whereupon he drew nearer to

THE HISTORY OF

him, till Asâl perceiving it, betook himself to his Heels again, and Hayy Ibn Yaqzân (answerably to his Vigour and Power both of Knowledge and Body, which God had bestow'd upon him) pursu'd him with all his Might, till at last he overtook him and seiz'd on him, and held him fast, so that he could not get away.

§ 106

When Asâl look'd upon him, and saw him cloath'd with the Skins of wild Beasts with the hair on, and his own Hair so long as to cover a great part of his Body, and observ'd his great Swiftness and Strength, he was very much afraid of him, and began to pacifie and entreat him. But Hayy Ibn Yaqzân did not understand one word he said, nor knew any thing of his meaning, only he perceiv'd that he was afraid, and endeavour'd to allay his Fear with such Voices as he had learn'd of some of the Beasts, and stroak'd his Head, and both Sides of his Neck, and shew'd Kindness to him, and express'd a great deal of Gladness and Joy; till at last Asâl's Fear was laid aside, and he knew that he meant him no harm.

§ 107

Now Asâl long before, out of his earnest Desire of searching into the meaning of Things, had studied most Languages, and was well skill'd in them. So he began to speak to Hayy Ibn Yaqzân in all the Languages which he understood, and ask him Questions concerning his way of Life, and took pains to make him understand him; but all in vain, for Hayy Ibn Yaqzân stood all the while wondring at what he heard, and did not know that was the meaning of it, only he perceiv'd that Asâl was pleas'd and well-affected towards him. And thus they stood wondring one at another.

§ 108

Now Asâl had by him some Remainder of the Provision which he had brought along with him from the inhabited Island from whence he came; and he offer'd it to Hayy Ibn Yaqzân, who did not know what to make on't, for he had never seen any such before. Then Asâl ate some of it himself, and invited Hayy Ibn Yaqzân by Signs to eat too. But Hayy Ibn Yaqzân be-thought himself of those Rules which he had prescrib'd to himself, as to matter of Diet; and not knowing the Nature of that which he offer'd

THE HISTORY OF

him, nor whether it was lawful for him to partake of it or not, he refus'd it. Asâl still continu'd urgent, and invited him kindly: Now Hayy Ibn Yaqzân had a great Desire to be acquainted with him, and was afraid that his continuing too stiff in his Refusal, might vex him; so he ventur'd upon it, and ate some. And when he had tasted of it, and lik'd it, he perceiv'd that he had done amiss, in breaking those Promises which he had made to himself concerning Diet. And he repented himself of what he had done, and had Thoughts of withdrawing himself from Asâl, and retreating to his former State of sublime Contemplation.

§ 109

But the Vision did not easily appear to him at first, upon which he resolv'd to continue with Asâl in the sensible World, till he had thoroughly satisfied himself concerning him, that so when he had no further Desire towards him, he might apply himself to his former Contemplations without any Interruption. Wherefore he applied himself to the Society of Asâl, who perceiving that he could not speak, was secure of any Damage that might come to his Religion by keeping Company with him; and besides, had hopes of teaching him Speech, Knowledge and

Religion, and by that means, of obtaining a great Reward, and a nearer Approach to God. He began therefore to teach him how to speak; first, by shewing him particular Things, and pronouncing their Names, and repeating them often, and perswading him to speak them; which he did, pointing to each Object as he spoke the Word. Thus he continued till he had taught him all the *Nouns*, and so improv'd him by degrees, that he could speak in a very short time.

§ 110

Then Asâl began to enquire of him concerning his way of Living, and from whence he came into that Island. And Hayy Ibn Yaqzân told him that he knew nothing of his own Original, nor any Father or Mother that he had, but only that Roe which brought him up. Then he describ'd to him his manner of Living, from first to last, and by what degrees he advanc'd in Knowledge, till he attain'd the *Union with God*. When Asâl heard him give an Account of those Truths, and those Essences which are separate from the Sensible World, and which have the Knowledge of the Essence of that *True One*, (whose Name be prais'd); and heard him give an account of the Essence of that *True One* with its sublime Attributes, and describe, as far as

THE HISTORY OF

was possible, what he witness'd (when he had attain'd to that Union) of the Joys of those who are near united to God, and the Torments of those whom the Veil separates from him; he made no doubt but that all those things which are contain'd in the religious Law concerning God, his Angels, Books and Messengers, the Day of Judgment, Paradise and Hell, were Symbols of what Hayy Ibn Yaqzân had seen. The Eyes of his Heart were opened, the fire of his Mind was Kindled, and he found that the Teaching of Reason and Tradition did exactly agree together. And the ways of Mystical Interpretation became easie to him, and there remain'd nothing difficult to him in the divine Law, but all was clear; nor any thing shut up, but all was open; nor any thing obscure, but all was plain; and he began to be of those who truly understand. Thenceforth he look'd upon Hayy Ibn Yaqzân with Admiration and Respect, and assur'd himself that he was one of the Saints of God, *which have no fear upon them, neither shall they suffer Pain.*¹ Upon which he address'd himself to wait upon him, and imitate him, and to follow his Direction in the Performance of those Works ordained by the revealed Law which he had occasion to make use of, and which he had formerly learn'd from his Religion.

¹ Koran ii, 36.

§ III

Then Hayy Ibn Yaqzân began to enquire of him concerning his Condition and manner of living, and Asâl gave him an account of the Island from whence he came, and what manner of People inhabited it, and what sort of Life they led before that religious Sect, which we mention'd, came among them, and how it was now, since the coming of that Sect. He also gave him an Account of what was deliver'd in the Law relating to the Description of the Divine World, Paradise and Hell, and the Awakening and Resurrection of Mankind, and their gathering together to Judgment, and the Balance and the Bridge. All which things Hayy Ibn Yaqzân understood very well, and did not find any of them disagreeable to what he had seen when in that sublime Station; and he recognised that the Describer of these Things was true in his Description and sincere in his Words, and was a Messenger sent from his Lord; and he believ'd him and affirm'd his Veracity and bore Witness to his divine Mission.

§ II2

Then he began to ask him concerning the Precepts which the Messenger of God had deliver'd, and the Rites of Worship which he

THE HISTORY OF

had ordain'd. And Asâl told him of *Prayer*, *Alms Fasting* and *Pilgrimage*, and such other External Observances. These Hayy Ibn Yaqzân accepted and took upon himself and practis'd, in Obedience to his Command, of whose Veracity he was very well assured. Only there were two things stuck in his Mind, which he wonder'd at, and could not comprehend wherein the Wisdom of them did consist. The one was, why this Messenger of God, in describing most things which relate to the Divine World, us'd to express them to Men by Parables or Similitudes, and waiv'd a clearer Revelation of them; which occasion'd Men to fall into that grave Error of asserting a Corporeity in God, and attributing to the Essence of that *True One* Things from which it is absolutely free; and so in like manner, concerning those Things which relate to the Rewards and Punishments of a Future State. The other was, why he went no farther than these Precepts and Rites of Worship, but gave Men leave to gather Riches, and allow'd them a Liberty as to matter of Food; by which means they employ'd themselves about vain Things, and turn'd away from the Truth. Whereas his Judgment was, that no Body ought to eat any thing, but only just to keep him alive; and as for Riches, he had no Opinion of them at all. And when he saw what was set down and

prescrib'd in the Law with Relation to Wealth, as Alms, and the Distribution of them, and Trading and Usury, Restrictions and Punishments, these things seem'd all very odd to him, and he judg'd them superfluous; and said that if Men understood Things aright, they would lay aside all these vain Things and follow the Truth, and content themselves without any thing of all this; and that no Man would challenge such a Propriety in Riches as to have Alms ask'd of him, or to cause his Hands to be cut off who privily stole them, or their Lives to be taken away who had openly robb'd him.

§ 113

Now that which prompted him to this Persuasion, was this, that he thought all Men were indu'd with an ingenuous Temper, and penetrating Understanding, and a Mind constant to itself; and was not aware how stupid and deficient they were, how ill-advis'd, and inconstant in their Resolutions, insomuch that they are like Brute Cattle, nay, more apt to wander out of the way. Since therefore he was greatly affected with Pity towards Mankind, and desir'd that he might be an Instrument of their Salvation; a Resolution came into his Mind of going over to them, to declare and lay before

THE HISTORY OF

them the Truth. This Intention of his he communicated to his Friend Asâl, and ask'd him if there could possibly be any way contriv'd to come at them.

§ 114

But Asâl told him what sort of People they were, and how far from an ingenuous Temper, and how averse from obeying the Commands of God; but this he could not fully comprehend, and his Mind was still intent upon that which he hop'd to compass. So Asâl, being desirous that it might please God, by his means, to direct some of his Acquaintance which were of a more pliable Temper than the rest, and more capable of Salvation, into the right way, at last agreed to further the Design of Hayy Ibn Yaqzân. Upon which they resolved to keep close to the Sea Shore, without stirring from it either Day or Night, till God should please to afford them an Opportunity of crossing the Sea. And all the while they were intent upon this, they continu'd praying to God to direct them in this their Business.

§ 115

At last, as God (whose Name be prais'd) would have it, it happen'd that a Ship which had lost her Course was driven by the Wind and Water upon the Shore of that Island; and

H A Y Y I B N Y A Q Z A N

as it drew nearer to Land, they who were in it, seeing two Men upon the Shore, made towards them. Then Asâl spoke to them, and desir'd them to carry him and his Companion along with them in the Ship; to which they consented, and took them into the Ship, and it pleas'd God to send them a fair Wind, which, in a short time, carried them to the Isle which they desir'd. There they landed, and went into the City; and Asâl's Friends came all about him, and he gave 'em an account of Hayy Ibn Yaqzân, and his manner of living; so that People flock'd to him from every side, and admir'd and reverenc'd him. Then Asâl told him that this Class was superior to all other sorts of Men in Knowledge and Sagacity; and that if he could not work upon them, there were much lesser Hopes of doing any Good upon the Vulgar.

§ 116

Now Salâmân (Asâl's Friend, who we told you chose Conversation, rather than Solitude and Retirement which he judg'd unlawful) was Prince and Sovereign of this Island. So Hayy Ibn Yaqzân began to teach them, and explain the Mysteries of Wisdom to them; but so soon as e'er he began to raise his Discourse above External Things a little, and to inculcate that,

THE HISTORY OF

the contrary whereof had been settled in their Minds; they began to withdraw themselves from him, and their Minds had an Abhorrence for what he spake. And though they carried themselves civilly to him, both because he was a Stranger, and out of the Observance which they thought due to their Friend Asâl, yet they were angry with him inwardly in their Hearts. However, he continu'd reasoning with them mildly Night and Day, and teaching them the *Truth*, both in Private and Publick; which only increas'd their Hatred towards him, and made them avoid his Company, though otherwise they were Lovers of Goodness and desirous of Truth. However, through the Defect of their Nature, they did not pursue it by the right Path, nor ask for it at the right Door, nor take it in the right Manner; but sought the Knowledge of it after the common way, like the rest of the World. So that he despaired of doing any Good upon them, and all his Hopes of amending them were defeated, because they were not willing to receive what he taught them.

§ 117

And afterwards, taking a View of the several Ranks and Orders of Men, he perceiv'd that every sort of them plac'd their Delight in those

Things which they possess'd at present,¹ and that their Appetites were their God,² and that they lost themselves in gathering up the Crumbs of this World; and that the Desire of getting more kept them employ'd till they came to their Graves;³ and that all good Counsel was lost upon them; and that disputing with them had only this Effect, that it made them the more obstinate. And as for Wisdom, there was no way for them to attain it, neither had they any Share in it. For Folly had overwhelmed them, *and what they have sought after has covered their Hearts like Rust;*⁴ *God has sealed up their Hearts and their Ears, and a Dimness covers their Eyes, and a sore Punishment awaits them.*⁵

§ 118

When therefore he saw them compass'd about with the Curtains of Punishment, and cover'd with the Darkness of the Veil; and that all of them (a few only excepted) minded their Religion no otherwise, but with regard to this present World; and cast the Observance of religious Performances behind their Backs, notwithstanding the Easiness of them, and sold them for a small Price;⁶ and that their Merchan-

¹ Koran xxiii, 55; xxx, 31. ² Cf. Koran xxv, 45.

³ Cf. Koran cii, 1, 2. ⁴ Koran lxxxiii, 14.

⁵ Koran ii, 6. ⁶ Cf. Koran iii, 184.

THE HISTORY OF

dize and Trading diverted them from thinking upon God, so that they had no fear of that Day in which both their Hearts and Eyes shall be turn'd round;¹ he was fully satisfied that it was to no purpose to speak to them of the pure Truth, neither that it was expedient any Works should be enjoin'd them beyond this Measure; and that the greatest Benefit which accru'd to the Generality of Men by the Law, was wholly plac'd in Relation to Things of this World, *viz.* that they might be in a comfortable way of Living, and that no Man might invade another's Property; and that there was but here and there one² that attain'd to Happiness hereafter, namely, such an one as had a Longing for that future Life and labour'd earnestly to obtain it, and was a Believer;³ but that Hell would be the Habitation of the Impious who preferr'd the Life of this present World.⁴ And what Weariness can be greater, or what Misery more compleat than his, among whose works, if you observe, from the time he awakes, till he goes to sleep again, you will find nothing but what tends to the attaining of some one or other of these vile sensible Things; namely, either Riches, to heap them up; or Pleasure, which he may take; or Lust, which he may satisfie; or

¹ Cf. Koran xxiv, 37.

² Koran xvii, 20.

³ Koran lxix, 37, 38, 39.

Revenge, whereby he may pacifie his Mind; or Power, to defend himself; or some outward Work commanded by the Law, whereof he may make a vain-glorious Shew, or whereby he may save his own Neck? Now all these things are *Darkness upon Darkness in the Depth of the Sea*,¹ neither is there any of you that doth not enter in thither, for such is the unchangeable Decree of your Lord.²

§ 119

And when he understood the Condition of Mankind, and that the greatest part of them were like Brute Beasts, he knew that all Wisdom, Direction and good Success, consisted in what the Messengers of God had spoken, and the divine Law deliver'd; and that there was no other way besides this, and that there could be nothing added to it; and that there were Men appointed to every Work, and that every one was best capable of doing that unto which he was appointed by Nature; that *this was God's way of dealing with those which were gone before, and thou shalt find no Change in his way.*³ Whereupon returning to Salâmân and his Friends, he made Excuses for what he had said to them, and desir'd to be forgiven, and told them that he

¹ Cf. Koran xxiv, 40. ² Koran xix, 72.

³ Cf. Koran xlvi, 23.

THE HISTORY OF

had come to the same Opinion with them, and had adopted their Rule of Conduct. And he exhorted them to stick firmly to their Resolution of keeping within the Bounds of the Law, and the Performance of the External Rites; and that they should not much dive into the Things that did not concern them, but that in obscure Matters they should give Credit and yield their Assent readily; and that they should abstain from novel Opinions, and from their Appetites, and follow the Examples of their pious Ancestors and forsake Novelties; and that they should avoid that neglect of religious Performances which was seen in the vulgar sort of Men, and the Love of the World, which he principally caution'd them against. For both he and his Friend Asâl knew that this tractable, but defective sort of Men, had no other way of Salvation; and that if they should be rais'd above this to the Realms of Speculation, it would be worse with them, and they would not be able to attain to the Degree of the Blessed, but would waver and fall headlong, and make a bad End. But on the contrary, if they continu'd in that State in which they were till Death overtook them, they should find Safety, and stand on the right Hand: But as for those that out-went them, they should also take place of them, and be the nearest to God.

§ 120

So they took their leave and left them, and sought for an Opportunity of returning to their Island, till it pleas'd God to help them to a Conveniency of passing. And Hayy Ibn Yaqzân endeavour'd to attain to his lofty Station by the same means he had sought it at first, till he recover'd it; and Asâl followed his Steps, till he came up with him, or wanted but very little of it; and thus they continu'd serving God in this Island till they died.

§ 121

And this is that (God assist thee and us by his Spirit) which we have receiv'd of the History of Hayy Ibn Yaqzân, Asâl and Salâmân; which comprehends such Choice of Words as are not found in any other Book, nor heard in common Discourse. And it is a piece of hidden Knowledge which none can receive, but those which have the Knowledge of God, nor can any be ignorant of it, but those which have not. Now we have taken a contrary Method to our pious Ancestors as to their Reservedness in this Matter, and Sparingness of Speech. And the Reason which did the more easily persuade us to divulge this Secret, and tear the Veil, was, because of the

THE HISTORY OF

corrupt Notions which some Pretenders to Philosophy in our Age have broach'd and scatter'd, so that they are diffus'd through several Countries, and the Mischief which arises from thence is become Epidemical. Fearing therefore lest those weak ones, who reject the Authority of the Prophets (of Blessed Memory) and make choice of that which is deliver'd them by Fools, should imagine those corrupt Notions to be that Secret which ought to be hidden from the Unworthy, and so should the more eagerly incline toward them; we have thought good to give them a Glimpse of the Secret of Secrets, that we might draw them into the Way of Truth, and avert them from this other. Nevertheless, we have not so deliver'd the Secrets which are comprehended in these few Leaves, as to leave them without a thin Veil or Cover over them, which will be easily rent by those who are worthy of it, but will be so thick to him that is unworthy to pass beyond it, that he shall not be able to get through it. And I desire of those my Brethren who shall see this Discourse, that they would excuse me for being so careless in my Exposition and so free in my Demonstration; seeing I had not done so, if I had not been elevated to such Heights as transcend the Reach of Human Sight, and wish'd to express the Matter in easie Terms,

H A Y Y I B N Y A Q Z A N

that I might dispose Men and raise a Desire in them to enter into the right Way. And I beg of God Mercy and Forgiveness, and that he would please to lead us to the Well of the pure Knowledge of himself, for he is gracious and liberal of his Favours. Peace be to thee, my Brother, whom 'tis my Duty to assist, and the Mercy and Blessing of God be upon thee.

The End.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

B I B L I O G R A P H Y

- E. Pocock: *Philosophus Autodidactus*. (Oxonii, 1671)
- Léon Gauthier: *Ibn Thofaïl, sa vie, ses œuvres*. (Paris, 1909)
- Léon Gauthier: *Hayy ben Yaqdhân, roman philosophique*. (Alger, 1900)
- F. Pons Boigues: *El Filosófo Autodidacto*. (Zaragoza, 1900)
- T. J. de Boer: *The History of Philosophy in Islam*. (London, 1903)
- D. B. Macdonald: *Development of Muslim Theology, etc.* (London, 1903)
- S. Munk: *Mélanges de philosophie juive et arabe*. (Paris, 1859)
- 'Abd al-Wahid al-Marrakushi: *The History of the Almohades* [Kitab al-Mu'jib]. Edited by R. Dozy (Leyden, 1881). French translation by E. Fagnan (Algiers, 1893)
- Muhammad ibn Tumart: *Le Livre de Mohammed ibn Toumert*. Texte arabe accompagné de notices biographiques et d'une introduction, par I. Goldziher. (Alger, 1903)
- E. Lévi-Provençal: *Documents inédits d'histoire almohade*. (Paris, 1928)



The Westminster Press
411A Harrow Road
London, W.9

